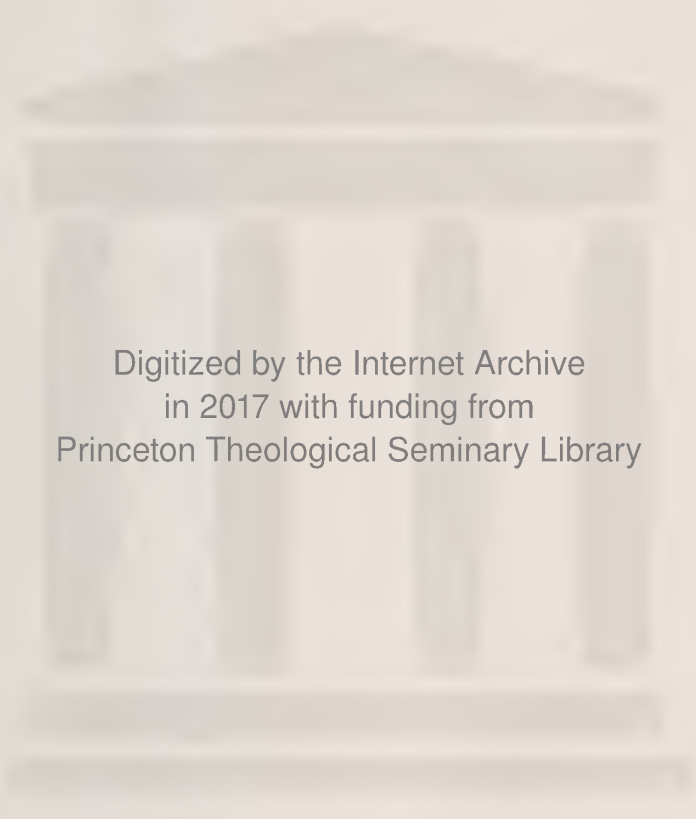


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THE CHURCH, HER COLLEGES AND THE CAR- NEGIE FOUNDATION.

The history of Education in America is inwrought with the history of the Christian Church. The early annals of the Church record the narratives of the state of Religion, the missionary journeys among the Indians, the opening of new preaching stations in the settlements of the West, and, along with these as of equal claim upon the interest of the Church, the progress made in the establishment of academies and colleges. The preacher and the teacher were one in aim and often one also in person. The fear of the Lord was recognized to be the beginning of wisdom. Intelligence, integrity and piety in happy combination were the end that was sought. Perhaps the strongest motive in establishing the earlier academies and colleges was the need of an able and competent ministry. The records show that the ministry led the way to the establishment of what are now our oldest institutions and they were seconded by the most devoted members of the churches. This support was by earnest prayer, by self-denying effort and by gifts which in their day were as notable as the great gifts of to-day.

I.

THE STRUGGLES OF THE COLLEGES

From the beginning, the problems of support pressed upon the fathers of the Church. They were braver men than some of their sons, for they launched their movements with resources which in our day would be wholly inade-

quate. Harvard University was founded on the bequest of the Rev. John Harvard, amounting to less than £400, and Yale received from Gov. Yale £500.¹ As late as 1768, the Synod of New York and Philadelphia in response to a request of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey voted £50 to aid in the support of a professor of divinity and promised a collection from the churches. In presenting the cause to the churches, the Presbytery of New Brunswick was obliged to state that the permanent funds of the College had been reduced to £1300.² In 1797 the funds of Princeton consisted of \$17,733.31 in Government stocks, two shares of bank stock, sundry bonds amounting to \$3,862.33, and \$305.74 in cash. In 1800 the actual income from the funds of the College was \$252.67, in 1808 \$174.50.³

In 1830, the available funds of Yale, exclusive of land, were \$17,856.26. The net receipts including \$11,735.00 from tuition were \$19,471.47 and there was a deficit of \$837.59. In the seventeenth century, the cash donations to the colleges were about £7000 O. T., two-sevenths of which came from England. Between 1719 and 1726, Mr. Thomas Hollis gave to Harvard £4840, the largest sum received during the first hundred years of its existence. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the productive funds of all colleges amounted to less than \$500,000.⁴ Dr. Thwing sums up the situation as follows:

"Their history is a story of small beginnings made in poverty; of hard struggles to procure funds for either endowment or immediate expenditure; of a success usually moderate in such endeavors; of expenses frequently exceeding income; of economies at times foolish in method, at times wise, but usually necessary; of constant anxieties borne by officers—anxieties at times which crush; of inability to keep covenants, either expressed or implied; and

¹ Birdseye: *Individual Training in Our Colleges*, p. 50.

² Hodge: *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church*, ii. 298.

³ Maclean: *History of the College of New Jersey*, ii. 27, 31, quoted by Birdseye.

⁴ Birdseye, *ibid.*

of consequent suffering of teachers—sufferings under which teachers find the support in the value of the high commissions entrusted to them. Such is the outline of the financial history of the American college.”⁵

These facts are enough to show both the place which the Church had in the founding of our historic institutions and also the struggles which were made to maintain them. Faith exercised itself in the great doctrines of Scripture and also in reliance upon God for money. Prayer went up for spiritual blessings, but also for bread and butter for both professors and their students. Synods and associations gave hours of their time to the question of ways and means for their institutions. It is therefore no new thing that in these latter days the Church should feel the burden of her new and struggling institutions. Conditions have changed, but the struggle is the same.

How greatly conditions have changed appears from the latest figures on Education in America. A total school and college population of 19,776,694, a working income of colleges and universities for men and for both sexes (exclusive of that of public schools and other institutions) amounting to \$65,792,045,⁶ show the revolution which has

⁵ Thwing: *History of Higher Education in America*, p. 323.

⁶ The statistics of education in the United States show a total enrollment as follows:

Teachers in Public Schools.....	496,612
Pupils in Public Schools.....	17,061,962
Public High Schools (professors and students) .	1,098,764
Private High Schools (professors and students)	102,360
Universities and colleges for men and both sexes:	
Professors and instructors.....	21,960
Students, Preparatory.....	65,026
Collegiate	134,386
Graduate.....	9,449
Colleges for Women A and B.....	30,396
Theological Schools, professors and students..	11,568
Law Schools, professors and students.....	19,896
Medicine Schools, professors and students....	30,115
Special schools such as evening, business, reform, deaf, blind and feeble-minded.....	793,652

Total for United States..... 19,776,694
(*The Chicago Daily News Almanac* 1911, pp. 405ff.)

come in the educational world. The college president of one hundred years ago would be staggered by these figures. They present problems to our modern administrators which the fathers never knew and, to that extent, impair the value of educational precedents.

II.

THE SACRIFICES OF THE TEACHING FORCE

It is coming to be recognized now that the weakest spot in our modern educational system is its meagre support of professors and instructors while they are teaching and its want of provision for them when they have ceased to be efficient. Our institutions have grown enormously in the number and splendor of their buildings, in the variety of courses they offer, in the departments they have organized, in their athletic facilities and in the endowments by which all of these great improvements are supported. Living salaries, are, in most institutions, provided for the president but the ordinary professor or teacher is overworked and underpaid. Dr. Pritchett has calculated that, in our older and now independent universities and colleges, the average salary of the professors is \$2,441, in State institutions \$2,167, in Church institutions \$1,534, but in more than one hundred Church institutions the average salary is less than \$1,000.⁷ The teacher and the preacher fare alike. The recent report of the Department of Commerce and Labor of the U. S. Government covers the statistics of 186 denominations in the United States, which include 32,936,445 members, 61.7 per cent Protestants, 36.7 per cent Roman Catholics. The average salary of ministers in all these denominations is \$663. The highest average is the Unitarian \$1,653, then the Protestant Episcopal \$1,242, the Universalist \$1,238, the New Jerusalem \$1,233, the Jewish \$1,222, the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. \$1,177, the Congregational \$1,042. Presbyterian and Congregational pastors receive, therefore, about the same

⁷ *The Relation of Christian Denominations to Colleges*, p. 24.

average salary as the professors "in more than one hundred Church institutions".

These salaries of professors and ministers to be estimated aright must be compared with the salaries in secular life. Taking as an example, the municipal service of the City of Chicago, we find that the higher salary paid to professors in Church institutions, \$1,500, is the salary of the paying teller in the office of the Comptroller, of the deputy clerk of the Municipal Court, of the sergeants of the Police Department, the engineers of the Fire Department, the chief dairy inspector and sundry clerks. The second figure paid to professors in Church colleges, \$1,000, is the salary of the coal-passers, the chief matron of the Police Department and the meat inspectors.⁸ Allowing for the extra cost of living in the city, these figures mean that professors in our Church colleges, after their long training and with the demands of continuous intellectual service, are on the same financial level with the humbler grades of city employees, who enter upon their duties with scarcely any preparation. In one college town where wealthy citizens make their abode, the social relations between the wealthy citizens and the college professors are so cordial that the professors are often invited to dine with the wealthy citizens. As the professor sits at the table, he is tempted to reflect that the butler and the doorman of his host have a larger income than he. In one instance, a professor distinguished for learning, eked out his living by renting his house, during the summer, to the second chauffeur of one of his wealthy friends. The social equality which he enjoyed with the wealthy citizen could not hide his financial inferiority to the wealthy citizen's second chauffeur. An assistant professor in a large eastern university, writing anonymously, says:

"For a dozen years I have watched tragedies. I have seen brilliant young men, full of promise, full of life, unselfish and highminded simply ground down by overwork,

⁸ *The Chicago Daily News Almanac*, 1907, pp. 418ff. [Figures unchanged since 1902].

underpay and high prices, with the result that they have grown narrow and hard and embittered. . . . We don't get the best men in college teaching, and we don't make the best of the men we do get. We collect in our colleges great masses of dead wood; men who can't hold a better position, men with their ambitions ground out of them; men who draw small salaries and do not earn them, no matter how hard they work. They are conscientious—I know no body of more conscientious men. But . . . it is true of many college professors that they would leave if they were any longer capable of more remunerative work".⁹

And a recent report of the Carnegie Foundation says:

"About a third of the American colleges and universities report an average salary to a full professor of less than \$1000, and not quite half report an average of more than \$1000 but less than \$2000. . . . Heretofore little has been done to fix salaries in respect to any fair or even possible line of comfort. And it has, therefore, happened that, at the same time, when small economies have lowered an entire faculty into discontent and inefficiency, an amount sufficient to raise the teaching body into an atmosphere of content and cheerful work has been spent on facing the campus buildings with marble, and in giving the athletic field the appearance of a Roman amphitheatre".¹⁰

The efficiency of our colleges, therefore, requires as the very next reform, such a revision of the annual budget as will make adequate provision for the men and women who are the vital forces in these institutions. Brick and stone and iron and green lawns must wait till the living material is adequately provided for. The straits to which scholarly and devoted men are reduced and the mortifying expedients which they must employ to maintain the proprieties of their position make up a life-long sacrifice. The call for relief is the louder because the sufferers are themselves estopped from the ordinary methods of agitation. Locomotive engineers, policemen, firemen, carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers, etc., may move when they feel inclined to enjoy

⁹ *The Saturday Evening Post*, June 11, 1910.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

higher wages, but men and women of academic life, surrounded with academic restraints, must be dumb until a sentiment yet to be educated recognizes the sore injustice of their situation. If the echo of these words were vocal, the ears of the friends of Education in America would suffer from the detonation.

III.

THE VETERANS AND MR. CARNEGIE'S BENEFACTION

Leaving, however, the large question of adequate compensation for professors in active service, the case of the veteran who has outlived his period of efficiency, presents a distinct and a pressing problem. On such salaries as those just indicated, he has, of course, made no provision for his old age. He is a veteran in name but without a veteran's reward. The Government has for a long time recognized the claim of its veteran soldiers and sailors and the Church, in a modest way, has provided for the relief of her aged and infirm ministers and for their widows and orphans. Of late, progressive corporations have begun to pension worthy employees who have reached the age of retirement and to adopt profit-sharing schemes. The principle is making headway, albeit slowly. The claims of men in the Classified Civil Service of the Government are only now coming to be recognized. While Government employees in other branches of the service, numbering 147,547, have, within the last five years received increase of salaries amounting to \$12,655,736.66, the 185,874 persons employed in the Classified Civil Service have been passed by with the exception of 680 of their number.¹¹ In the matter of civil service retirement, our Government is as backward as Venezuela and Haiti, these three being the only civilized countries on the face of the globe which are not providing systems of retirement for aged and disabled civil servants.¹² The question is now before Con-

¹¹ *The Civil Service Advocate*, ii. 2, p. 210.

¹² Hon. R. W. Austen, *Congressional Record*, 55,428-9385, p. 8.

gress. President Taft,¹³ Mr. Secretary MacVeagh,¹⁴ and men eminent in the business life of the country,¹⁵ are all outspoken in their support of the movement, and some solution will doubtless be reached soon.¹⁶

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has placed our modern educational system under many obligations. His gifts to colleges, including many Church colleges, are royal in their amount.¹⁷ Apart from these, and supplementing many of them, he has brought into being The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and has given \$10,000,000, the income of which is to be used in providing retiring allowances for professors who have reached a proper age, in institutions which comply with certain requirements, primarily of an educational and financial character. This Foundation is "not a charitable institution, but an educational agency."¹⁸ It affords relief to the professor who has reached the age of retirement; it frees the institution from providing for him in retirement or of re-

¹³ "It is impossible to proceed far in such an investigation without perceiving the need of a suitable means of eliminating from the service the superannuated." *Annual Message to Congress*.

¹⁴ There is no practicable way to put the government service properly on its feet without a fair and just method of civil-service retirement. This is not only a requisite; it is a prerequisite; and unless Congress shall give the Executive this necessary method of improving the service, the country must accept the service that is not fully satisfactory and which cannot be made fully satisfactory." *Annual Report*.

¹⁵ "Like the tenets of religion, such a principle is primarily a matter of the heart, and the discussion of it from the standpoint of political economy, like the discussion of religion from the standpoint of theology, is of quite secondary importance in the establishing of it." Mr. James B. Forgan, President First National Bank, Chicago, *Congressional Record*, 55,428-9385, p. 12.

¹⁶ The bill is based on the contributory plan as against the straight pension.

¹⁷ The latest information at hand shows a total of 317 academies, colleges and universities, to which he has given \$3,695,753 for library buildings, \$1,185,459 for science buildings, \$5,210,595 for other buildings, \$9,395,861 for endowment, \$878,285 for other purposes, making a total of \$20,365,953. Included within this list there are many institutions related in different ways to the Christian Church.

¹⁸ *Christian Denominations and the Colleges*.

taining him in service after his usefulness has been impaired; it affords assurance to all professors in such institutions that, on reaching the age of retirement, they will be adequately provided for; and it gives an opportunity to enforce certain standards of educational policy. At the outset, the trustees of the Foundation believed that, if they could establish the principle of retiring allowances in one hundred institutions of learning, the effect would be to bring all other institutions to the same basis through means provided by their friends. Since then, they have widened the scope of their undertaking to almost the limits of our American system of education.¹⁹

This Foundation has been subjected to serious criticism. So much of this as questions the right of the founder to define the scope of his benefactions is manifestly out of place. The Foundation, in the eyes of the law, is a private corporation. It bears the name and executes the purpose of its founder and represents no one but himself. Its sole business is to ascertain and carry out his purpose in the disposal of his fund. The only difference between Mr. Carnegie's gift and that of the benefactor who establishes a scholarship for the support of a college student is in the amount. If under advanced sociological conceptions it be denied that Mr. Carnegie has the right to dispose of so great a fortune, it must be admitted that there is, as yet, no recognized authority to restrain him. The maxim of law holds: *Cujus est dare ejus est disponere*.

The Foundation was limited by the founder in two directions. In his letter of April 16th, 1905, in which he handed over the fund to the trustees he had appointed, Mr. Carnegie excluded from its benefits the professors and

¹⁹ *The Independent* in an editorial dated June 17, 1909, in full appreciation of the benefits of the Foundation asks: "Who anticipated that in less than five years it would effect profound changes in the constitution and management of our colleges, severing venerable denominational ties, tightening up requirements for admission, differentiating the college from the university, systematizing finances, raising salaries, and in many more subtle ways modifying the life and work of thousands of educators?"

officers of tax-supported educational institutions on the ground that State governments might prefer that the relations of their professors and officers should remain exclusively with the State. After two years of administration, it appeared to the trustees that "from the standpoint of educational unity and coherence it would manifestly be a misfortune to divide the colleges and universities of the country into two groups separated by the line of State support. All colleges and universities, whether supported by taxation or endowment, or by tuitions, are public institutions. . . . There are no private colleges." Upon this conclusion, and on the express desire of the National Association of State Universities, Mr. Carnegie, on March 31, 1908, authorized an extension of the scope of the Foundation, so that State institutions could receive the benefits when their governing boards apply and the governors and legislatures of the States approve. He did this with the understanding that if all the State universities applied, five million dollars more would be required.²⁰

IV.

THE BAN ON THE CHURCH COLLEGE

In establishing the Foundation Mr. Carnegie also excluded from its benefits another class. In his letter he says:

"There is another class which States do not aid, their constitution in some cases even forbidding it, viz. sectarian institutions. Many of these, established long ago, were truly sectarian, but to-day are free to all men, of all creeds, or of none—such are not to be considered sectarian now. Only such as are under the control of a sect or require trustees (or a majority thereof), officers, faculty or students, to belong to any specified sect, or which impose any theological tests, are to be excluded."²¹

No reason has ever been assigned by the founder for this exclusion of institutions belonging to what he calls

²⁰ *Third Annual Report*, pp. 61-63.

²¹ *First Annual Report*, p. 8.

"sects". Many explanations have been given by the beneficiaries or the would-be beneficiaries of the Foundation, but they require no attention as they are entirely without authority. Mr. Carnegie has exercised not only his right of giving as it pleased him, but his right also of withholding his reasons for not giving. Christian men, representing Christian institutions, should be the last to quarrel with him.

How far reaching this exclusion is appears from the analysis of Church institutions made by the Foundation. The various methods of legal connection between the Christian denominations and their institutions of higher learning are described as follows:

I. Colleges with theological tests for entrance and residence.

II. Colleges where specified religious membership is required of trustees or faculty. Such requirements as are:

A. Provided by the charter of the college upon 1. the boards of trustees; 2. the faculty; 3. the corporate body of the college.

B. Not in the charter but 1. by by-law; 2. by acceptance of an endowment for a chair; 3. by agreement with an outside corporation.

C. Subject to change by 1. the vote of the trustees; 2. the amendment of the charter; 3. legal penalty of forfeiting gifts.

III. Colleges under the control of sects.

A. The property owned outright.

B. Property owned in equity.

C. The institutions owned by a religious order.

D. Controlled through the board of trustees.

The right to 1. elect trustees; 2. nominate trustees; 3. confirm trustees.

E. Colleges that formally report at specified intervals 1. by law; 2. by voluntary action.

F. Authorized statements at specified intervals in the college catalogue.

G. Students required to attend services of a specified non-academic congregation.²⁴

²⁴ *Second Annual Report*, pp. 40-42.

It would be difficult to discover any method of legal connection between the Church and her colleges which is not included in this exhaustive analysis. Apart from the purpose of excluding Church institutions, with which it was framed, it has a value in its very suggestiveness.

In the hope of securing some relaxation of the rule excluding Church institutions, a memorial was presented to the president and executive committee of the Foundation by a group of representative college presidents, including President Faunce of Brown University, President Hunt of Denison, President Boatwright of Richmond, Baptists; President Jones of Haverford, Society of Friends; President Welch of Ohio Wesleyan, Methodist; President Miller of Heidelberg, Reformed Church U. S.; President McMichael of Monmouth, United Presbyterian; President Hechert of Wittenberg, President Hefelbower of Pennsylvania, Lutheran; and Presidents Nollen, of Lake Forest, Parsons of Parsons, and Holden of Wooster, Presbyterians. This memorial gives the following weighty reasons against the changes in the charters necessary to bring their institutions within the requirements of the Foundation:

1. The severance of the historic relation between the college and the religious body that founded and nurtured it, is in some instances, open to serious ethical objections.

2. The severance of this relation would inevitably be misconstrued by many of the alumni and patrons of these colleges as a sacrifice of principle for monetary gain. Controversy would thus be provoked and the college constituency weakened.

3. The formal relation between the college and the denomination makes it easy to arouse the interest and enlist the support of a constituency which would otherwise be lost to the cause of education. The severance of the relation would sacrifice this advantage.²⁵

It would be difficult to state in better words the objections to changing the charters of our colleges, and the able men who presented the memorial voiced the sentiment of the churches with great accuracy. They expressed the

²⁵ *The Fourth Annual Report*, pp. 4-6.

opinion that these changes would result in "serious injury to the College concerned and to the cause of education in general" and urged that their colleges

"are not now maintained for sectarian ends, but represent the contribution of the denomination to the general educational work of the country. In view of these considerations, we respectfully petition the President and the Executive Committee of the Foundation to present these facts to Mr. Carnegie, with their recommendation that he make provision by which the benefits of the Foundation may be extended to those institutions:

1. Which meet the academic and financial standards of the Foundation.

2. Whose property is not specifically held for a denomination by an ecclesiastical officer or a religious order.

3. Which do not prescribe denominational tests for administration officers, faculty or students, and,

4. Which do not require the teaching of denominational tenets."²⁶

This petition so respectfully presented by this representative body of men proposed to yield everything demanded by the Foundation save the right of the Church in the selection of the trustees, which is expressly reserved by the charters of many institutions. It is amazing to learn from the Report that the only reply vouchsafed to this petition was a letter addressed by the President of the Foundation, Dr. Pritchett to each of the presidents which says:

"The committee at once proceeded to lay before Mr. Carnegie a copy of the memorial presented by you at that time. The committee sent this to Mr. Carnegie without recommendation, as it did not feel itself justified, after careful examination of the subject, in recommending the removal of all denominational restrictions in the use of this endowment. Mr. Carnegie has carefully considered the communication, and, while the committee has received from him no formal communication, it has, unofficially, (*sic*) been led to believe that it is not his intention to change at the present time the present situation of the Foundation by making a gift free from the restrictions of the original gift."

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

The request of the petitioners could hardly have encountered more summary treatment, although no complaint, so far as known, has escaped their lips. Possibly they are themselves responsible for presuming to present such a petition, or at least for not ascertaining in advance that an official communication would meet with so unofficial a reply. Certainly no circumstances are conceivable which would impose upon them the duty of subjecting themselves again to this experience.

V.

THE CHANGES IN COLLEGE CONTROL

The reports of the Foundation recite in great detail the history of the negotiations which, from year to year, were entered into with various Church colleges with a view of making them eligible to its benefits. In each of them, the chief concern has been the elimination of every trace of organic relationship to the Christian Church. The action of the executive committee, as presented in the reports of the Foundation, suggests that delicate process of engraving, which, by the use of an acid or mordant, produces the incised lines that appear in the printing. The result of this concentrated acid, skillfully applied to the Church college, is the complete disappearance of the control of the Church and a picture which, whatever else it has in it, lacks that control.

Various examples may be mentioned. The charter of the *University of Denver* provided that "no test of religious faith shall ever be applied as a condition of admission" and on this ground the chancellor sought to place the institution upon the Foundation; but the application was refused on the ground that the trustees were elected by the Colorado Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and that "when the majority of a college's governing board is designated by a denomination through a power of election residing in one of its constituent councils, the college is, in the language of the Foundation's charter 'under the control' of the denomi-

nation, although the utmost freedom may be exercised at present in the election of College trustees.”²⁷ A trustee of *Wesleyan University* seeking the decision of the Foundation as to colleges, a majority of whose trustees are elected by the trustees themselves or the alumni but with a minority selected by a religious body, was informed that, while such colleges came within its discretion, the committee felt that the time had not arrived when they should be presented.²⁸

Drury College, Missouri, in its articles of association provided that a majority of the trustees should be “connected with the family of Christian churches commonly known as the Congregational churches of the United States”. In a later section, its articles explain that no religious test for study and instruction shall ever be established and the foregoing restriction is “intended only to guard the interests of the college from the unseemly and dangerous rivalry of other sects, and to place the college so closely in sympathy with some one religious denomination that it shall always have a constituency and a home”. This provision, mild as it is, was enough to exclude the college from the Carnegie Foundation, and accordingly, the articles of incorporation have been amended “so as to eliminate from them all reference to any denominational restriction upon the board of trustees”.²⁹

Drake University, at Des Moines, Iowa, in its charter provided that two-thirds of the board of trustees should be elected by the Iowa Christian Missionary Convention and that two-thirds of the trustees must be members of churches of the Disciples of Christ. In order to make the institution thoroughly representative, the charter was amended, the churches consenting thereto, and any requirement as to the religious beliefs of the trustees was eliminated, and it was provided that only twelve trustees must be elected by the convention. The Foundation, however, required that even

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁹ *Third Annual Report*, p. 28.

the right to elect these twelve be surrendered by the Church which had founded the institution and that a resolution be passed certifying that, in the choice of trustees, officers and teachers no denominational tests will be imposed. And this was done.³⁰

Central University of Kentucky, as it now is, is the result of an amalgamation of two institutions in 1901. The administration of the united University was to be in the hands of a board of trustees, one-half elected by the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, North, and one-half by the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, South. In the first approach to the Carnegie Foundation, it was represented that the original charter of one of the colleges contained provisions against any teaching "of doctrines peculiar to any one sect of Christians", and that the two Synods were under no obligation to elect Presbyterians as trustees of the University. Later, the Foundation was informed that the trustees were willing to certify that no denominational considerations entered into the choice of trustees. This approach having been unsuccessful, it was proposed that the board of trustees be made self-perpetuating, the election of the new members to be reported to the Synods each year, and the Synods to retain the power of veto but to agree that this veto power should never be exercised on sectarian grounds. Even this proposed self-effacement on the part of the Synods was insufficient and only when they were induced to resign their power of electing the board of trustees was the University "admitted to a full participation in the privileges of the Carnegie Foundation".³¹

Coe College, Iowa, at the time of its application, was so related to the Synod of Iowa, that the election of members to its board of trustees must be reported to the Synod and be subject to its approval. To meet the demands of the Foundation, it was agreed that the election of trustees should not be submitted to Synod for approval but it was hoped

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-26.

that their names might possibly "be reported" as they were elected. It appears, however, that even a report to an ecclesiastical body, carrying with it no power of approval or disapproval, was too much, and, at last, even this was surrendered and Coe College was "admitted to the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation".³²

In the case of a college legally connected with a denomination by a charter which required that the names of newly elected trustees be submitted to an ecclesiastical body for confirmation, the authorities, feeling that it would not be wise to submit the charter to the State Legislature for revision, in view of the fact that the charter as it now is releases the college from all taxation, asked if, in lieu of the elision from the charter of the right of confirmation by the ecclesiastical body, a waiver by that body of its exercise of this power would be acceptable. This, of course, assumed that the ecclesiastical body would consent to the waiver. The executive committee, however, felt that it could not admit the college on this extra-legal basis, as, in view of the legislative and representative character of the ecclesiastical body, it is doubtful if a waiver executed at one session would be legally binding on future sessions.³³

VI

TWO COLLEGES WHICH DECLINE THE BENEFACTION

Two other institutions require attention in view of the fact that, having fully considered the conditions imposed, they have declined the benefactions of the Foundation. One of them, the *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, is briefly mentioned in the reports of the Foundation,³⁴ but the full statement of the facts is shown by the official publications of the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and of the board of trustees of the Randolph-Macon College. The Randolph-Macon System of Colleges and Preparatory Schools had, through many years,

³² *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 17.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

grown up under the fostering care of the Methodist Episcopal Church, especially the Baltimore and Virginia Conferences. In 1870, the board declared to the Legislature of Virginia that "the creator of the college is the Virginia Conference" and that "the college is in moral law and justice the property of the Conference".³⁵ The controversy, which has stirred so deeply the Methodist Church in Virginia, began in 1907 when the trustees of the Woman's College, which is a part of the Randolph-Macon System, applied for admission to the benefits of the Foundation, stating that, while the college was in sympathetic relation to the Conference, it was independent of it in government and they passed the resolution required by the Foundation certifying that, in the election of trustees and officers, no denominational tests would be applied. The question came up at the annual Conference in 1907 and has appeared at each annual meeting ever since. The Conference demanded that action be taken, recognizing the legal and the moral right of the Church in the college, and calling on the trustees to secure an amendment to the charter which would guarantee to the Conferences the right to participate in the selection of persons to fill all vacancies, or, as an alternative, that a clause be inserted setting forth that the property is held in trust for the Conferences and that three-fourths of the trustees shall be either clerical or lay members residing within these Conferences. The trustees stated in reply, that they had neither the legal nor the moral right to transfer the power of electing trustees to any other person or body,³⁶ adding that they have always recognized that the college is one of the agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the education of youth and that, next after their duty to God, comes their duty to the Church. They expressed the belief that they were an integral part of the Church, charged with specific duties just as other agencies are charged with

³⁵ *Virginia Conference Annual*, 1909, p. 74.

³⁶ *The Randolph-Macon System: Its relation to the Church and the Carnegie Foundation*. Published by direction of the Board of Trustees, p. 38.

specific duties, so that, while declining to seek changes in the charter, they would show their respect for the wishes of the Conference by adopting the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, that when a vacancy occurs in the board of trustees, such vacancy shall be filled by the election of this board, but, before such election, the name of the person proposed to fill such vacancy shall be submitted for approval to the Conference within whose bounds such vacancy shall occur, and upon approval he shall be elected to the board.

"Inasmuch as misunderstanding has arisen, and misrepresentation has been made of our relation to the Church, in view of the fact that Randolph-Macon has been accepted as a beneficiary of the Carnegie Foundation, and being intent upon retaining the closest possible relations to the Church and Conference to which we owe our existence (*sic*), we hereby decline any benefits from said Foundation so long as it requires any severance or weakening of the tie by which we are bound to the Church."³⁷

The effect of this action was to exclude the Woman's College from the Foundation, but it was not sufficient to satisfy the Conference. At Richmond in November, 1910, the question again occupied the closest attention.³⁸ A series of six resolutions was proposed and, after prolonged consideration it was agreed that committees representing the two Conferences should again meet with the trustees. The case is interesting as illustrating the deep convictions of a representative Christian Church as to its rights and duties in the institutions under its care. Whether or not the charter changes are made, the benefits of the Foundation have been renounced and the institution has been acknowledged to be an integral part of the Church. More, perhaps than in any other instance reported, was the voice of the Church heard in this case. In other cases, the action effecting the release of the college from the control of the Church has been taken before the Church was fully aware of its significance. It is to be expected that hereafter a full understanding will be had before so serious a step is sanctioned

³⁷ *Virginia Conference Annual*, 1909, p. 73.

³⁸ *Times Dispatch*, Richmond, Va., Nov. 10, 1910.

by any representative body of the Christian Church. As intimated by the petitioners mentioned hereinbefore, (p. 196) such an agitation as this is more damaging to an institution than any return in money can make good. Confidence is worth more than money. Indeed, it is worth money too.

Brown University at Providence, Rhode Island, was not mentioned in the reports of the Foundation, probably because no application had been made. Its president, Dr. Faunce, is a trustee of the Foundation but the University is under a charter which prescribes that its trustees shall be taken chiefly from the Baptist churches and, in smaller numbers, from the Congregational, Quaker and Episcopal churches. This inclusion of other denominations, was, in its day, a mark of the breadth of view prevailing among the Baptists who founded the institution. Since then, other denominations of Christians have come in and church ties are viewed differently, so that the trustees have been embarrassed in filling vacancies even from their own alumni. For two years, the question of charter-revision has been before the trustees, and two reports have been submitted by a committee consisting of President Faunce, Mr. Justice Charles E. Hughes of the United States Supreme Court, Mr. Thomas S. Barbour, Dr. George E. Horr, Mr. Henry K. Porter and others. The reports are models of clearness, of lofty regard for principle and of delicate consideration for all the interests involved. The Preliminary Report, submitted in 1909, states the reason why the change in charter is desirable, and, while denying that the motive in seeking the change was merely to secure the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation, frankly adds:

"It is useless for any institution to pretend, in changing its charter as we propose, it has no reference whatever to the standards of the Carnegie Foundation: on the contrary, we freely acknowledge that the desire to secure retiring allowances for our teaching staff is one of the objects that we desire—though by no means the chief one."³⁹

³⁹ *Preliminary Report*, p. 10.

The Final Report, submitted June, 1910, notes at the outset that

"Some elements in the situation have undergone decided change. College faculties have begun to fear certain kinds of assistance they formerly sought. The public mind has, during the past year, been unable to disentangle the moral from the financial question. It has been inclined to assume—perhaps naturally—that every college now making any material change in its constitution does so from sordid motives (*sic*).

.....Your committee is therefore of opinion that measures should be taken to separate the question of financial aid from charter revision. To this end it recommends that the University consider the advisability of securing from its alumni and friends an addition to the common fund of sufficient size to enable the corporation to provide pensions for the faculty on the same scale as the pensions offered to college teachers by any other organization. The time for securing such a fund is now at hand."⁴⁰

On the question of the changes, the committee divided, a majority recommending that membership in a religious denomination should not be required to make one eligible to election to the office of trustee, fellow, president, professor, tutor or other office.⁴¹ With this Dr. Horr, Mr. Barbour and Mr. Porter do not agree. The greatest concession made was that the president and three-fourths of the trustees shall forever be elected from the communicant members of the Christian churches,⁴² and this seems now to be withdrawn. In response to the charge that Brown University, founded in 1764, is "hopelessly archaic, in its charter," Dr. Horr cites the fact that it is "not more antiquated" than the charter provision of the University of Chicago,⁴³ which every-

⁴⁰ *Final Report*, pp. 4-5.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴³ "At all times two-thirds of the trustees and also the President of the University and of the said college, shall be members of regular Baptist churches, that is to say, members of churches of that denomination known and recognized under the name of the regular Baptist denomination; and, as contributions of money and property have been and are being solicited, and have been and are being made, upon the condition

one will admit is a very modern institution. Other modern instances might be cited. This Final Report has not been acted on as yet, but "Notes on College Charters" prepared by Mr. Barbour, approved by Dr. Horr, and submitted to the trustees, states that to attempt to secure radical changes in the charter would be to invite "ultimate defeat."⁴⁴

From these instances, it must be clear that no organic connection with the Christian Church, no connection by which the Church can control or direct the policy of the institution, will be permitted in any college receiving the benefactions of the Carnegie Foundation. Their charter forbids it. Only by release from all control of the Church, however indirect, may a college be admitted to the list of "accepted institutions". That some of the trustees have not relished this task we may well believe; that they have been willing to continue to discharge it shows, on their part, a high appreciation of the Foundation.

The Fifth Annual Report of the Foundation for the year ending September 30, 1910, comes to hand just as these pages are finished. It is about one-half the size of the preceding Report. It recognizes the action of Brown University in going forward on its present charter and enlarging its pension system as "most creditable" (p. 34). The Executive Committee has voted that "It is not expedient in the future to grant retiring allowances outside the accepted list, except in cases of special significance" etc. (p. 17), so that individual professors in institutions which do not come up to the requirements will no longer be provided for. The Committee also decided that institutions, a minority of the board of trustees of which were designated by a denominational assembly, were eligible if the institution was conducted "without denominational partisanship" (p. 4). There is nothing in the report that modifies the action taken in any of the cases quoted hereinbefore.

last named, this charter shall not be amended or changed at any time hereafter so as to abrogate or modify the qualifications above mentioned, but in this particular this charter shall be forever unalterable." The date of this charter is June 18, 1890. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴⁴ *Notes on College Charters*, p. 43.

VII

THE CHURCH AND THE COLLEGE: "A REAL VITAL RELATION"

The able men who have advocated the acceptance by Christian colleges of the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation in spite of the conditions imposed, have done so upon grounds which in their judgment are sufficient, and their position should be clearly understood. Everyone familiar with the problem of modern college administration will sympathize with the presidents and the members of the boards of control in their desire to avail themselves of every benefaction which is within reach. To have ready at hand a provision for their veteran professors looks to them like a godsend; a practical addition to their endowment; a relief from the burden of continuing a professor merely to afford him a livelihood; an assurance for all younger professors that in their time they shall be provided for; a prestige growing out of enrollment along with notable institutions, in contact with eminent educators and under ideals which in many respects are worthy of praise.⁴⁵ The man who is indifferent to these considerations is wholly outside the world of modern Education.

On the other hand, it is needful to know the grounds on which those who are in charge of distinctively Christian institutions have justified their efforts to enroll their colleges under the Carnegie Foundation. We may be sure that, if they believed the interests of their institutions would suffer in any direction, they would have declined the benefactions of the Foundation without hesitation. Their grounds seem, in substance, to be, that admission to the benefits of the Foundation, while requiring the severance of the legal and organic relation to the Christian Church, does not interfere with "the real vital relation in any shape or form", and that such an institution "stands before the

⁴⁵ One of these college presidents goes so far as to say: "It is not too much to state that the Foundation in its history thus far has given a greater stimulus to higher education than any other force that has been in operation in the history of Education in the United States." *Christian Observer*, Sept. 16, 1908.

Church and its whole constituency as a Christian college, devoted in its work to the fundamental principles of the Christian religion."⁴⁶ We are reminded that "the Foundation is not concerned with the fact that a given college was founded under the auspices of a religious organization or that it continues today its sympathetic relation with it."⁴⁶ The presidents of several institutions which have severed their relations with the Church testify that their connection with the Church is practically the same and point out the strong and positive Christian influences which are at work. This testimony is surely cause for rejoicing. At the same time, inquiry starts concerning this "real vital relation" which persists after the organic relation has been severed. How a relation can be vital that is not organic is not clear. Biology recognizes the vital only in the organic, however simple the organism, as, for example, the amoeba. A relation may be close and amicable without being vital, but a vital relation which is not organic is a contradiction in terms.

Passing this by, however, we are told that the Foundation has agreed that its "accepted institutions" may be published in official denominational publications provided the following sentence precede:

"The following institutions are not connected with the Church by any legal ties, nor are they subject to ecclesiastical control. Their history, however, and association with the life and work of our Church, are such as to justify our earnest co-operation with them."

This, of course, is not a vital but a co-operative relation and the co-operation seems to be limited to that of the Church with the college without defining the co-operation of the college with the Church. This, perhaps, may be defined in the language of a college president, who led his institution to seek the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation at the sacrifice of its organic relation with the Church. This co-operation appears in that:

A. We cherish and cultivate every relation of sympathy and co-operation with the Presbyterian Church. . . .

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

B. In this connection, I visit and address the Synods each year....

C. To keep in touch with our historic constituency, we invite the Synods to send committees of visitation to report to the Synods on the character, work and facilities of the college....

D. I am quite satisfied that the Carnegie Foundation has no objection to such arrangement. The statement so often made that the Foundation is hostile to the denominations is entirely without foundation in fact..... Mr. Carnegie was quoted to me as asserting that, provided the requirements of the charter of the Foundation in the matter of legal denominational connection were complied with, he did not care how Methodist or Presbyterian, etc. the college might be.

These statements should be taken at their full value. On some of them the Church will probably desire more light. If, for example, the Church should exercise the privilege to appoint visitors to the college accorded to it in exchange for the right which it had from the beginning, it would need to understand that the functions of the visitors would be severely limited and that any report which they might make would be in the way of interesting information rather than as a step to authoritative action. Should these visitors learn of irregularities in the institution, such as false teaching on the great facts of religion, and so report to the Church court, the court might plead for but it would be powerless to require a correction of such teaching. It is not likely that our Church courts will continue for many years a visitation which means so little. Again, the addresses which these presidents make in the Church courts must be prepared with unusual care, lest on the one hand they mislead the Church into supposing that she has at least some vestige of control, and, on the other, lest they overstep the bounds set for them by the Foundation. It is easy to see that an earnest Christian man, devoted to his Church, and consenting to the severance of his institution from it only under dire necessity, might very readily trespass upon the requirements of the Foundation. What the penalty would

be, one can hardly say. The dread of it, however, would be sufficient to take all the force and fire out of the address. The address really belongs in the class of those given in behalf of the various benevolent and philanthropic enterprises outside of the Church to which the representative bodies listen when they have time. What a contrast to the days when the educational address stirred the Church to gird herself afresh in behalf of her youth!

The reproachful inquiry is sometimes made whether the institutions, which in times past have done so much for the Church under self-perpetuating boards of trustees, are not a guarantee that Church institutions which now become self-perpetuating in their boards of trustees, will serve the Church as effectively as the others have done. There are such institutions and their place in the Church has been close and greatly blessed. The situation, however, is completely changed by the appearance of the Carnegie Foundation. An institution may have the most self-perpetuating board of trustees imaginable, but, if it be accepted by the Carnegie Foundation, its relation to the academic world and to the Christian Church is radically different from what it was before. Once it looked to the Christian Church for guidance, now it looks elsewhere. Its centre of gravity has shifted from the Church which founded it and nourished it to a body which was not in existence ten years ago, and the attraction of gravitation to this new centre is so strong that the centrifugal force may be said to be practically eliminated. The strict requirements of the Foundation are enough to prove this. The result of a violation of those requirements has probably not been faced by many of those who have accepted its benefits. The very proposal of withdrawal would awaken not only the loud protests of those who are now dependent on the Foundation for a livelihood, but of those who have served for years in the expectation of a pension,⁴⁷ and of the larger circle of those who fear

⁴⁷ How strong this expectation has already become appears from the stir made by the withdrawal of the service pension first offered by the Foundation. Into the question of good faith raised by some of those who expected to be beneficiaries, we need not enter here.

the loss of prestige if the institution is no longer connected with the Foundation. Is there any doubt that the centripetal force is well-nigh supreme?

We are, however, told that, granting the immense influence of the Foundation in the educational institutions under its care, that influence is exercised only along financial and academic lines. How inaccurate the statement is will appear later on. Mention need be made here only of the frequent references in the Reports to academic honesty, integrity and truthfulness, all of which are ethical qualities. But, granting that, at the present time, the sphere of the Foundation is only financial, academic and ethical, there is no guarantee that in the future the sphere shall be thus restricted. Enlargement has taken place in other directions, why not in this? Nothing in the conditions of admission limits the sphere of influence. The highest interests of the institutions and of education in general are to be promoted by the Foundation. If the trustees were to find a course of study or an atmosphere which, in their judgment, hindered the best interests of the institution, there is nothing in the agreement to restrain them from seeking to change it for a better. And, if a number of them were to believe, as some men always have believed, and as some prominent educators now believe, that the great foundation truths of Christianity are burdens on the human mind, and hindrances of human progress, it would be their duty, and certainly within their right, to object to the teaching of those truths in the institutions receiving their benefactions. It is not enough to say that this has not yet taken place. The Foundation is new and has been feeling its way very cautiously and in many directions very wisely. But prudent men in charge of Christian institutions would require guarantees of the strongest character that, at no time in the future, shall interference be made with the teaching of the great fundamentals of the Christian faith to the youth in Christian colleges. Whatever confidence we may have in the intentions of the present members of the Foundation, the history of educational

corporations points eloquently to the need of adequate guarantees of the place of religious instruction in our Christian institutions. These guarantees, it is needless to say, do not exist. In their place, there are only hopes, and in dealing with sacred funds, as with one's own funds, hopes will not take the place of guarantees.

That these conclusions are fully warranted appears from the authoritative statement of the Foundation. The President, Dr. Pritchett, relieves all uncertainty when he says:

"In order that there be no further misunderstanding on this point, let me add again that, in our understanding, an institution which has agreed to elect its trustees in the manner prescribed in our resolution, could not, consistently with the resolution, go before a conference or other religious body on the plea of being a church school, since the only thing that could make it a distinctive church school would be the indirect control which might come by choosing trustees from the denominations, an act which is contrary to the spirit of the resolution." . . .

"The resolution committed the board of trustees, in our judgment, to a choice of members on the ground of fitness for the board, neither rejecting a man nor taking him on account of the denominational ties. Under such a policy honestly administered, the board will in the long run contain a considerable proportion of members who are not Methodists."⁴⁸

These quotations ought to be conclusive. Honesty, in the judgment of the Foundation, forbids an institution to accept its benefits and at the same time to call itself "a church school". That is, a school, founded and nourished by the Church and flourishing under her influence, dare not go as a daughter to the Church to ask for a blessing, or to seek guidance in her perplexity. Guidance, she may, indeed she must, have, but it is not the guidance of the Church, the mother which brought her into being. It is a guidance which comes in after the prayers, and the tears, and the sacrifices of the Church have brought to her an endowment, which, to satisfy the requirements of the Foun-

⁴⁸ *Baltimore and Richmond Advocate*, March 19, 1908, extract from an official letter dated Dec. 14, 1907.

dation, must be at least \$200,000, all of which passes beyond the control of the Church, when the college enters upon this new relation. The daughter is an exile, by her own act.

It must be obvious, therefore, that it is a grave misuse of terms to claim that a Christian college, accepting the benefits of the Foundation, may maintain "a real vital relation" to the Church. The Church, as well as the Foundation, demands honesty and accuracy. The change in the relations of such a college to the Church is fundamental and becomes more and more manifest as the years go by. That the extent of these changes was not apprehended at the outset by those who have advocated them, we may readily believe and modify our judgment accordingly.

It needs to be said in justice to the college presidents and boards of control, who have obtained release for their institutions in order to accept the benefits of the Foundation, that they have, in the case of one denomination, at least, acted within the limits of ecclesiastical authority. The Presbyterian Church U. S. A. has, from its beginning, been recognized as a college-building, rather than a cathedral-building Church. The General Assembly, in harmony with the historic policy of the Church, in 1908 unanimously adopted the following:

"That since experience indicates that the Church is a true friend of the Christian College, the relation of our institutions to the Church should remain in its present form, and should be kept close and prominent, and the urgent attitude of the Board on this subject should be strongly supported."⁴⁹

The very next year, however, the General Assembly adopted the following, as recommended by its Committee on Administrative Agencies. It authorized the College Board

"To secure and receive moneys and other property for the benefit of any needy college or university, which is (1) organically connected with the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. or (2) required by its charter to have at least two-thirds of the board of control members of said church, or (3)

⁴⁹ *Minutes of The General Assembly*, 1908, p. 108.

actually under Presbyterian approval at the time of receiving assistance."⁵⁰

The phrase "Presbyterian approval" is very general. Whatever understanding there may be, this new definition of the scope of the College Board does not make clear whether the approval is that of the Presbyterian Church in one or another of its representative courts, or merely that of a number of Presbyterian individuals. Further, the Presbyterian Church gives apparent sanction to the requirements of the Carnegie Foundation in that for several years past it has permitted institutions now under the Carnegie Foundation to be published on its list of colleges co-operating with, or reporting to, the College Board, with the following prefix in small type:

"The following institutions are not connected with the Presbyterian Church by any legal ties, nor are they subject to ecclesiastical control. Their history, however, and associations are such as to justify our earnest co-operation with them."⁵¹

With this authority, colleges, once Presbyterian and now under the Carnegie Foundation, are at liberty to enroll themselves under the Presbyterian name. This is in apparent conflict with the original requirements of the Foundation, although as shown above, it is permitted by the Foundation, probably as a concession to churchly sentiment. That the Church is willing to give even a quasi-endorsement to the institutions in the management of which it has no voice, and to which it merely lends its name for whatever good they can secure from it, without any means of protecting that name, is simply incredible. It will not be permitted to continue when it is generally understood. Indeed, it is to be presumed that the action was taken before its significance became apparent, and that the whole question will be reopened shortly and settled on lines consistent with the historic policy of the Church.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 1909, pp. 235-236.

⁵¹ *Report of the College Board*. 1908, p. 27.

VIII

THE CUMULATIVE ARGUMENT FOR CHURCH CONTROL

Church colleges (and all who are concerned in their welfare), which are considering the advantages offered them by a connection with the Carnegie Foundation, will more and more take into account a number of considerations which need to be weighed against these advantages.

The *legal* questions, of course, concern only such institutions as are related to the Church in one or another of the modes of control enumerated above. They differ in each case, but each case deserves the attention of impartial men well versed in the law. The questions arising are not new, and the precedents of the courts are well-defined and numerous. Of the many, it is enough to cite here the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1819 in the case of Dartmouth College. The Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, at his own expense, and on his own land, founded a school for the religious training of the Indians, which afterwards was enlarged and with a donation of £50, and in view of his services as agent and trustee, was named for the Earl of Dartmouth. A charter was obtained from the King of England, incorporating the trustees with power to erect and conduct a college and control the operation thereof, and to elect their own successors. Afterwards the Legislature of New Hampshire passed a bill enlarging the number of trustees, adding the names of others to the original number, creating also a board of overseers to have perpetual succession to disapprove the votes of the trustees as to the appointment or removal of the president, professors, etc. In the case arising, appeal was taken and finally reached the Supreme Court. The views presented by Mr. Webster were sustained by Chief Justice Marshall, who in an extensive opinion said :

“The founders of the college contracted not merely for the perpetual application of the funds which they gave to the objects for which those funds were given; they contracted also to secure that application by the constitution of the corporation. They contracted for a system which should,

as far as human foresight can provide, retain forever the government of the literary institution they had formed, in the hands of persons approved by themselves. This system is totally changed (by the action of the Legislature). The charter of 1769 exists no longer. It is reorganized; and reorganized in such a manner as to convert a literary institution, moulded according to the will of its founders, and placed under the control of private literary men, into a machine entirely subservient to the will of the government. This may be for the advantage of this college in particular, and may be for the advantage of literature in general, but it is not according to the will of the donors, and is subversive of that contract, on the faith of which their property was given."⁵²

Applying this principle to the case of Brown University, Mr. Barbour aptly says:

"It was apparently the inviolability of the right of founders that gave inviolability to the position of trustees, and indications seem to be conclusive, that, with respect to the fundamental organic provisions of charters, and certainly with respect to provisions declared to be unalterable, limitations upon trustees are not less real and inviolable than limitations upon independent legislative action."⁵³

These principles apply, not merely to institutions with self-perpetuating boards of trustees, but also to those in which the control of the Church is recognized. In either case, the charter is the basis on which donations have been made, and the rights of donors are as clear in one case as in the other. Kind-hearted legislatures may grant amendments to these charters, but they are not the final authorities, and the courts are open to those whose interests are at stake. Church courts, holding relations of control or substantial interest in educational institutions, have a duty to protect those interests and the rights of donors, rather than to acquiesce in proposals arising out of a temporary situation and an apparent advantage. Neither piety, nor fidelity to a sacred trust will quietly submit to the aliena-

⁵² 4 *Wheaton*, p. 517ff.

⁵³ *Notes*, p. 40.

tion of property in which the Church has substantial interest.

On the *economic* questions involved, we are indebted to the Foundation for valuable information. It has gathered this information from sixty-two institutions:

"A college whose faculty included twenty professors of all grades at an average salary of twenty-five hundred dollars, would have an annual pay-roll of fifty thousand dollars and would expend twenty-five hundred dollars in maintaining its retiring allowance systems. Whether this is a fair indication of the expense involved it is difficult to say."⁵⁴

If this estimate is accepted, it brings the retiring allowance system within reach of many colleges which have not thought of establishing it, because of the large expense involved. On this basis, \$50,000 or \$60,000 will provide enough for an institution having twenty professors of all grades. This is no more than the cost of many buildings. It raises the question whether the guidance, if not the actual control of the institution, should be surrendered to an outside corporation in return for a sum of money no larger than this.

An institution which, for over fifty years has sustained corporate relations with the Church, and has acquired in that time grounds and buildings valued at more than \$850,000, a productive endowment of over \$600,000, making a total of about \$1,500,000, has now two professors eligible for retirement and in a few years may have three more. The minimum allowance of the Carnegie Foundation is \$1000, the addition in each case being a matter of adjustment. If all of these five men should live and be retired, the allowances would amount to \$5000, or a little more. A wise economy raises the question whether \$5000 annually would be an adequate return for the surrender by the institution of its historic relation to the Church and for the surrender by the Church of her power to influence the course of education in an institution numbering four hun-

⁵⁴ *Third Annual Report*, p. 51.

dred students. An addition of \$100,000 to the endowment would provide all that would be needed as a pension fund for years to come. It is strange that, amid lavish expenditures on the mere externals, faithful professors should be left unprovided for, when a sum like this is given to our colleges every week of the year.

The *ethical* questions involved are the more pressing in view of the growing sensitiveness of public opinion. These underlie nearly all the other questions. The committee of Brown University unitedly recognized the fact that a college seeking material changes in its constitution was liable to a charge of "sordid motives" and found that many of their constituents believed that such a change cannot be made "without grave misunderstanding".⁵⁵ And Mr. Barbour, and Dr. Horr, close their "Notes" with the following weighty words:

"We would not, however, wish it to be understood that this necessity, in our judgment, results exclusively from legal considerations. From the outset, we have been persuaded that the legal difficulty inheres in a moral difficulty. Whenever the founders of an institution have been encouraged to believe that the conditions imposed by them would remain inviolate and gifts have been received upon this basis, and by legal presumption with the same intent and understanding, we believe that the governing boards are morally bound to regard the essential terms of the Foundation. For these boards are not simply administrative, they are also custodians and the two forms of obligation are equally inviolable (*sic*). We cannot too earnestly express our conviction that the power of a trustee does not extend to alteration of the fundamental terms of a charter. The question at issue is not what as individuals we would favor, but what as guardians of a trust we are free to do."⁵⁶

For over three years the state of Virginia has been ringing with the protests of those whose fathers before them, as well as they themselves, have prayed, and labored, and given to Randolph-Macon College as an institution of the

⁵⁵ *Final Report*, p. 5.

⁵⁶ *Notes*, p. 44.

Church, against the proposal to alienate the college in order to secure the pensions of the Foundation. The tender sympathy for the veterans has been none the less real because of the larger ethical questions involved in the proposal. As shown above, the protest has not ceased with the withdrawal of the institution from the Foundation, and a persistent demand continues for the recognition in some unalterable way of the rights of the Church. The Carnegie Foundation advocates educational honesty so strongly that it will surely sympathize with the Methodists of Virginia in this demand. Buildings and endowment may be all that could be asked for, but the buildings will be empty and the endowment will be unemployed if the institution has violated the sense of right in the minds of its constituency.⁵⁷ More than one such melancholy instance could be cited.

Moreover, the effect of such changes upon the student body needs to be taken into account. They are not wholly unaware of them. They understand, in general, that their college is no longer connected with their church because it desired the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation. College presidents, in addition to the regular courses in sociology and ethics, will doubtless find it desirable to explain fully the reasons for which these relations were changed.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The first of these courses (severing the legal connection) does not commend itself to the management of the most of our denominational institutions. Some few, it is said, have made a spectacle of themselves in their hurry to change their charters and constitutions to conform to the requirements for admission. This conduct was hardly fair to their founders and must in time bring reflection on themselves in the eyes of all thinking men. If when there was no fund designated for such purpose as that of the Foundation, men were willing to make the sacrifice, they must recognize that their sacrifice is no greater now, and their deprivation no added hardship. An institution bedded in the affection of a devoted constituency, and which has gathered about it a history of achievements that come only with years, cannot afford to tear itself aloof from the trust and confidence of its friends, especially if by such an act it detached itself from the fundamental things that brought it into being. *Lutheran Quarterly*, October, 1910, p. 506.

⁵⁸ Mr. J. P. Cushing, of the High School at New Haven, Conn., asks: "What will these boys say (and they are a pretty keen lot) as

On the broad question of *educational policy*, full importance should be attached to the aims outlined for the Foundation by its President, in view of the many defects of our present educational system. A hearty support is due to every effort to elevate our colleges in honesty and efficiency of administration, and yet a growing number of thoughtful men question the value of a corporation created by the generosity of one man, a private corporation, working simply along the lines laid down by him and responsible neither to Church nor State so long as it keeps within its own broad charter. Its present aim seems to be to compass the whole system of American education. No institution of higher learning is beyond its reach. Even those which are barred from its benefactions receive the inquiries of its industrious executive and feel obliged to respond to the demands. In State institutions, the benefactions are granted only when the applications to this private corporation are approved by the governors and the legislatures. As we have no national university, no need has yet arisen for the President and the Congress of the United States to apply for assistance. President Schurman of Cornell is widely recognized as an educator, and his words derive special significance from the fact that he is a trustee of the Foundation. In his address before the National Association of State Universities in October, 1909, he notes the rise of a new species of corporations by which benefactors have learned to perpetuate themselves:

"The rich philanthropist who objectifies himself in such a benevolent corporation, of course names the trustees; and subsequent vacancies in the Board are filled by coöptation. . . . A corporation of this kind is a distributing agency for wealth set apart for educational purposes. . . . It may do anything and everything that tends to create an efficient system of state or national education. . . .

they discuss the ethical principles involved in a college renouncing its allegiance? Will they not sometimes recall the story of the young man who sold his birthright? Is the cause of teaching advanced when colleges, once strongholds of higher education, are tempted to forsake the faith that has made them what they are?" *The Nation*, March 10, 1910.

"I cannot but think that they create a new and dangerous situation for the independent and privately endowed universities. Just in proportion as these are supported by those benevolent corporations is their centre of gravity thrown outside themselves. It is no longer the case of a rich man giving his money, going his way (eventually dying) and leaving the university free to manage its own affairs. The purse strings are now controlled by an immortal power, which makes it its business to investigate and supervise, and which lays down conditions that the university must accept if it is to receive grants of money. An irresponsible, self-perpetuating board, whose business is to dispense money, necessarily tends to look at every question from the pecuniary point of view; it wants its money's worth; it demands immediate and tangible results. Will not its large powers and enormous influence in relation to the institutions dependent upon it tend to develop in it an attitude of patronage and a habit of meddling? The very ambition of such a corporation to reform educational abuses is itself a source of danger. Men are not constituted educational reformers by having millions to spend. And, indeed, an irresponsible, self-perpetuating board of this sort may become a real menace (*sic*) to the best interests of higher education. . . . I make no exception even of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to which Mr. Carnegie has given such large endowments for the pensioning of the professors in the colleges, technical schools and universities of the United States and Canada, and I certainly speak with no prejudice as I regard that endowment as the best thing any benefactor has ever done for higher education in America, and I have myself the honor of being one of the trustees."⁵⁹

These bold words have created a profound impression. In certain quarters they have been minimized and, as if to provide against this, Dr. Schurman in addressing the same association in November, 1910, broadened his statement as follows:

"The trouble, I fear, about all these organizations, like the Rockefeller Foundation in this country, and for that matter the Carnegie Foundation (of which I am one of the

⁵⁹ Address before the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the National Association of State Universities, Oct. 8-9, 1909, pp. 14-16.

trustees), and the similar Carnegie organization in Scotland, is, that I think, they all have the tendency (I do not say it is always actualized) to shift the centre of gravity of universities outside themselves. . . . I had an opportunity not long ago of talking the matter over, first with professors in Scotch universities, and secondly with the officers of the Carnegie organization itself. The professors complained that the independent, autonomous life of the university, was menaced by the institution, for the authorities of the university were no longer the masters of their own life and destiny. The organization which controlled the money-bags controlled them (*sic*). If that organization said: 'We will give money for modern languages', or 'for a commercial course', or some other course which they thought desirable, and the faculty or the governing boards, or the trustees would never have thought of such department, they must either accept it or go without the money which this organization has at its disposal. . . . It is a question in my mind whether . . . you can have organizations with large sums of money at their disposal, chartered with authority to bestow that money upon other institutions which are doing a good work for the community—educational, charitable, religious, or what not, without tending (and in many cases the tendency would be realized) to disarrange and even disorganize the work of those institutions."⁶⁰

Dr. Schurman is entirely free from the odious charge of religious sectarianism, but as yet no one representing the Christian Church has spoken as severely as he has in these two successive years. It is greatly to the credit of the members of the Foundation, and of the founder, Mr. Carnegie, that these utterances of Dr. Schurman do not seem to have impaired the value of his counsels as a trustee. In this broadminded tolerance, there lies great hope. These views are Dr. Schurman's; some publicists and educators go beyond him.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Transactions and Proceedings of the National Association of State Universities*, 1910, pp. 287-288.

⁶¹ *Popular Science Monthly* for April 1910, says editorially, "The Foundation supplies an additional income to a number of colleges and universities, but this appears to be the end of its usefulness. The attempt of an energetic president to lord it over the educational devel-

The experience of the *George Washington University* shows that institutions not connected with the Church are also subject to the general educational policy of the Foundation. The statement of Dr. Pritchett is not complete or even sufficient to an understanding of the case.⁶² It appears that the endowment had been reduced below the limit fixed and in that there was ground for inquiry, if not for action, on the part of the Foundation. As to the two professors, perhaps no one outside of the faculty or the board of trustees is competent to speak, the differences being over questions of university efficiency. No mention is made in Dr. Pritchett's statement of the third ground at first assigned for the action, the number of special students.⁶³ Reserving judgment on the merits of this case, our institutions should take notice that, according to the statement of the president of the University, which stands unchallenged, the agent of the Foundation in his brief visit was shown every courtesy and expressed to the president his appreciation, and when invited to give his views made

opment of the country, has done some temporary harm; but the money by which he can purchase submission will soon be exhausted. It has been a sorry sight to see institutions raising standards which they cannot and should not maintain, freeing themselves nominally from denominational control—one has offered to establish an undenominational holding company—and most of all to watch the great state universities begging the favors of a private corporation. Thirty-two state legislatures have approved the request for money, and the Foundation finds that four of the universities are worthy, while the others—institutions such as California and Illinois—must be further investigated. The President tells the Governor of Ohio how the University of that great state should be administered; he says, that 'in nearly every state' there is 'educational demoralization'. In his last report Dr. Pritchett makes all kinds of recommendations. Some are in themselves good and some bad, but all are bad in so far as they come from that source, for there is an implicit threat everywhere that institutions must do as they are told or they will not receive Carnegie money (*sic*). The best thing that could happen would be for the Foundation to retire its president with a liberal pension, to write about education over his own signature, and then, as the Peabody Fund has wisely done, to disolve and distribute its funds among our colleges" (p. 414-415).

⁶² *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 42.

⁶³ *The Independent*, July 1909.

a few remarks, in part complimentary, and in part a friendly criticism, but without any intimation that the investigation was being made with a view to terminating the relation of the University to the Foundation. With almost oriental swiftness and severity, the blow fell.⁶⁴ If it were intended as a warning to other institutions it could not have been more effective, and yet an institution can hardly do satisfactory work if it lives under the constant dread of such treatment.

The question has been raised in regard to state universities as to how far the tax-payers of the state will be willing that a private corporation, doing business at one end of the country, shall set the standards by which their universities are to be regulated. This is a question of public, as well as of educational, policy. It would be unfortunate if it were to be injected into political debate.⁶⁵

The *ecclesiastical* questions involved are many. Some persons might suppose that denominational institutions, being excluded from the benefactions of the Foundation, would also be deprived of the benefits arising out of the scrutiny of the President of the Foundation. This, however, is a hopelessly narrow view. He seeks to elevate, by his criticisms, institutions which the Foundation declines to assist with its money, and not institutions only, but de-

⁶⁴ In his letter to President Pritchett, dated June 11, 1909, the President of the University says: "It is a matter of sincere regret on the part of everyone who has read the letter, that your organization, with its high aims for the advancement of all true efforts in educational work, should have taken this action without any notice to the university, and without giving it any opportunity to be heard upon the real and apparent reason for your action, as shown by your letter. That an institution of learning, with 1500 students, should be struck such a blow without warning, or opportunity to correct any defect in its administration that might be shown, is difficult to comprehend, and as expressed by others than myself, almost impossible to believe." *Statement of President Needham*, p. 11.

⁶⁵ "In those states where state universities control educational policies, put this question. What right has a State legislature to allow its State university, and institutions supported for the public by public taxation, to be controlled as to standard or policies by an outside body?" *The Nation*, March 10, 1910.

nominations as well. On the question of the Church's right to continue her historic work of education, he says:

"What is needed to-day is religious leadership. Whether such leadership is more likely to be secured by seeking it within a specified denomination or without regard to denominational lines, and whether the leadership chosen within a given denomination will tend rather to be denominational than religious, are questions on which men are likely, for some time to come, to have different opinions. The experience of the past certainly inclines thoughtful men to question whether those whose primary object is to save men's souls are the best qualified for training their minds. . . . Whether a denominational connection or control tends to improve the organization of a college, the reply almost universally will be that denominational conditions, such as the requirements that trustees shall belong to a given denomination, are serious limitations and the denominational control is a hindrance, not a benefit, to the college organization."⁶⁶

From this it appears that the President has definitely committed himself to the dissolution of the ties which bind the colleges to the Church. In doing so he enters into the intimate life of every denomination whose institutions are inclined to look to the Foundation for assistance. This is a position of tremendous responsibility for one man, however gifted, and however highly educated.

The system of ministerial education, also, comes in for criticism. We learn from the President of the Foundation, Dr. Pritchett, that

"Another disadvantage under which the ministry has labored is the burden of sectarianism, the most common form of devotion to specifics (*sic*), which the world has known. In this respect, the profession of the preacher resembles somewhat that of the medical practitioner, with the difference that the medical sects are fewer in number. . . . Much has been said in recent years of the decay of churches and the weakening of Church ties, particularly among Protestants. Many explanations have been given of this tendency. No doubt many factors have a share in the result which we see. Amongst these one of the most evident is

⁶⁶ *Second Annual Report*, pp. 53-54.

inefficiency of the ministry due in the main to low standards of admission. . . . The old mother Church has pursued a more farsighted policy in this matter than the majority of her daughters. She requires of all her priests a long and severe training. . . . To it is due in very large measure the enormous moral power of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world, particularly among the great masses of working people in the city, where Protestantism has been so markedly ineffective."⁶⁷

Thus, we have a judgment not only on the wisdom of that policy of the Christian Church which has provided education for her youth, but also on the highest form which that education takes, the education of her ministry. With this question councils, conferences and assemblies, some of them ecumenical, have wrestled, and have reached their conclusions slowly and announced them with many qualifications. Not so, however, with the President of the Foundation. Protestantism is ineffective: Its ministry is inefficient: This inefficiency is due to low standards of admission: The Roman Catholic Church, on the contrary, requires a long and severe training: She has in consequence an enormous moral power. These judgments are given us without qualification. Presumably they are final, at least for all those who either covet or dread the influence of the President of the Foundation. It does not appear where he acquired the information and the experience which warrant such broad statements. They imply a familiarity with theological encyclopedia under either Protestant or Roman Catholic auspices, and with the problems of ecclesiastical administration as wrought out in the various bodies with which he now undertakes to deal. It is not to be supposed that the technical school, from the charge of which he was called to his present position, afforded opportunities for special investigation. Probably we should regard these judgments of his as intuitive. They certainly seem to have been formed prior to experience.

But the ecclesiastical ventures of the President go beyond

⁶⁷ *Third Annual Report*, p. 162.

the principle of denominational education and even beyond the type of theological instruction, to the questions of Church administration. Even the educational boards and the courts of the Church are under surveillance. The Presbyterian Church, through its College Board, and with the approval of the General Assembly, has established and is maintaining Westminster University at Denver, Colorado, which has property valued at \$300,000 and received last year gifts for current expenses amounting to \$22,655.05.⁶⁸ We may assume that the College Board acted with its characteristic conservatism in assisting this new institution, and that the General Assembly was within its discretion in recognizing it, but this does not weigh with the President of the Foundation, who says:

"I very much fear that the Westminster College is not a college of the Apostles, and that it crept into the fold at one of those unfortunate moments when denominational ambition and real estate promotion temporarily got the upper hand."⁶⁹

We cannot suppose that the Presbyterian Church occupies a position of peculiar privilege with Dr. Pritchett, but rather that his watchful eye scans the whole field of denominational activity, and that he scrutinizes with equal freedom the administrative acts of Baptist Associations, Methodist Conferences and Episcopal Councils so far as they bear on education. His decisions in the different cases which come to him, *sub judice*, are doubtless rendered as promptly as possible, but as yet no way seems to have been found for communicating these directly to the various Church councils. Something must be done at once; if nothing more, the annual reports which contain these decisions, must be read at these councils, lest the members take action unadvisedly concerning their institutions.

It is unfortunate that such lucubrations should mar the really valuable investigations of Dr. Pritchett along the lines of general education. It is apparently a case of

⁶⁸ *Report of the College Board*, 1910, pp. 19-25.

⁶⁹ *Fourth Annual Report*, p. 120.

overmuch writing for which no one is responsible but himself. But the plea can no longer be made that the Foundation concerns itself only with "financial and academic" questions.

The purpose underlying this wide range of criticism of ecclesiastical proceedings, is to protect educational institutions from the evils of sectarianism. It was the "sects" which were excluded when the Foundation was created, and the spirit they foster is to be fought to the end. Just what is to be understood by this odious phrase in its present use it is hard to say. Very early in its history, Christianity was known as "the sect of the Nazarenes",⁷⁰ "a sect which everywhere was spoken against".⁷¹ If it be said that it is not Christianity, but Christianity in its denominational form that is objected to, we must ask for a definition, intensive as well as extensive, of undenominational Christianity. The most ardent denominationalists among us would accept, as the basis of definition, one or another of the great creeds or confessions held in common by the universal Church, but the impression has been made that these creeds are themselves open to suspicion as being the embodiments of sectarianism, in that their teachings are standing athwart the pathway of educational progress as understood by some modern educators. Negatively, it is easy to say what this undenominational Christianity is not, but the authorities upon it have not yet been able to agree as to its positive form. Instead they refer to what they call the "spirit" which they find in men who repudiate every distinctive tenet of the historic faith quite as often as in those who receive this faith and live to exemplify it. Earnest Christian men will quietly endure the opprobrium of "sectarianism" as a part of "the reproach of Christ", with an increasing sense of their oneness in Him, and of the priceless value of the truth He has given to them in common.

The chief consideration affecting the Christian Church

⁷⁰ Acts xxiv. 5.

⁷¹ Acts xxviii. 22.

is, of course, the *religious* one. The Church has no quarrel with men who oppose her faith or her methods, or who seek to neutralize her influence, so long as their course is open and straightforward. The only sinister influence in such a movement arises out of a formal profession of the Christian faith and an acceptance of the solemn ordination vows as affording a position for assailing that faith the more effectively. Men of the world are often more severe in their judgment of this course than is the Church itself, and sooner or later the offenders are detected and exposed. All Christians, worthy of the name, are united in the purpose to maintain the historic faith, though they may differ as to their mode of doing so. They find in it the only tenable solution of the problems of the universe, the only satisfactory answer to the cravings of the human spirit, the only promise of a future that is at once worthy of the dignity of man and within the reach of sinful man. Modern investigation, which has thrown such a flood of light on religious as on other questions, has not abated the needs of men, nor has it dissolved the historic faith. The attack, which at the moment seems severe, is merely the repetition of that which the Faith has met in every age. The waves dash high, and seem to overwhelm the rock, but the rock abides long after the wave has receded. If much of our current so-called religious literature appears to contradict this, it is because that literature is itself only a part of the wave. In the face of the abiding value of God's revelation to man, the Church founded her colleges and is now maintaining them, for the sake of our youth, who, like ourselves, need to come into the presence of things unseen and eternal. Under this view, education means something beyond cultural and technical courses, something beyond a merely scientific Bible study. Education in the highest sense is had only when the soul rests on God, and, thus resting, lives a life transformed within and without. If this end be reached, Christian Education has not failed, though it may be incomplete. If this end be missed, no academic qualities can atone for the fail-

ure. The scrutiny which the Church makes of movements which bear upon the religious life is therefore close. At the risk of being misunderstood, she must require of these movements that they declare themselves.

Approaching the Carnegie Foundation with this inquiry, we find that its generous founder "has no hostility to any denomination, least of all does he wish to hamper in any way the cause of religion".⁷² We find also that the trustees are men of high character, and of large influence in the modern world, and that a number of them are members of Christian churches and some of them are in the Christian ministry. How far their personal attitude towards the Christian faith will mould the policy of the Foundation is not clear. Though most of the institutions upon their roll are in some sense Christian, they have given no expression to their common faith. The only information available is in their public writings. Of the trustees, the President, of course, occupies the foremost place. His views on religion differ probably from those of many of his associates, but it is safe to say that the attitude of the Foundation will not be very different from that of its President, as long as he is President. After assuring us that Mr. Carnegie would not "hamper the cause of religion", the President goes on to say,

"The essentials of religion are the same whether men belong to one religious organization or another. Religion is a life springing up in the human soul which blossoms into forgetfulness of self, in service to God and men."⁷³

This definition of religion was given in a formal address before the Educational Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It may, therefore, be taken as expressing the mature judgment of the President of the Foundation. It is in accord with his views as given in his book, in which he says:

"That this (scientific) conception of religion and of God is inconsistent with the idea of a divine, omnipotent person,

⁷² *Christian Denominations and The Colleges*, p. 5.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

interfering directly in the affairs of our lives and of our world, seems to me clear. The whole conception of the universe, as the man of science sees it, leads him to recognize the presence of God in the working of steadfast and unchanging laws. So far as his observations go, and so far as his researches into the history of mankind throw light upon the question, no instance of such interference has ever been known (*sic*). On the other hand, it is against his whole conception of the orderly and just development of the universe.⁷⁴

"The man who finds that his reason leads him to accept the scientific view of God, does not truly accept a spiritual relationship less rich, less sincere, less helpful, than he who thinks of God as a Father, and as governing directly and arbitrarily the affairs of his own life and of his own world. Do not for one moment let yourself believe that, if you find the traditional, historical conception of religion impossible, you have thereby ceased to be a religious man."⁷⁵

These citations illuminate the conception of religion as held by the President of the Foundation. They deserve the close attention of the guardians of Christian colleges who would conserve Christian truth. If no instance of God's "interference in the affairs of our lives and of our world" "has ever been known", there is of course no place for the Incarnation of our Lord or for His Resurrection and ours or for Regeneration by the Holy Spirit, to say nothing of the many other miracles of Scripture. One such sentence, if true, sweeps away the Christian Faith and makes it the product of purely natural forces. Dr. Pritchett's "man of science" may "see" the Universe thus, but, as Dr. Orr has shown, he is not of the class with Bacon, Newton, Faraday, and Brewster and Kelvin. The late Prof. Tait said "that the truly scientific men and true theologians of the present day have not found themselves under the necessity of quarrelling." And the late Prof. Romanes gave, as one reason for his return to faith, the fact that in his own University of Cambridge the avowed Christians included the men of the highest attainments in science and he names

⁷⁴ *What is Religion?* pp. 39-40.

⁷⁵ *Ibid* p. 41.

among others, Sir George Stokes and Profs. Tait, Adams, Clerk Maxwell, and Bayley. Whatever one may think of these sweeping statements of Dr. Pritchett's, it is within bounds to say that there is scarcely an institution upon the Carnegie Foundation which claims to be in any sense Christian, that would sanction, as an official utterance, this unqualified denial of the essentials of religion. And yet the views just quoted were expressed in a series of chapel addresses to young men in the institution over which Dr. Pritchett presided before he became President of the Foundation.

As if to show that he was dealing, not with the intellectual and philosophical aspects of religion only, but with religion in its personal and devotional aspect, he says :

"It seems, therefore, clear to me that, in the sense in which I have used the words, all serious men, whatever their intellectual training, must pray, not, perhaps, for material help, not in expectation that the laws of the universe shall be changed at their request, nor even primarily for strength to live rightly and justly (*sic*), but as the supreme effort of the human soul to know God. And whether that which we call prayer be a direct communion with Him as our Heavenly Father, or whether it be a communion with our higher consciousness, which is in touch with Him (*sic*), in either case the time can never come when a human soul will not rise from such communion purified and strengthened, with new hope and new patience, and with a more serene view of his own duty and his own future."⁷⁶

This, perhaps, marks the climax of the religious teaching of the President of the Foundation. It was reached several years ago and nothing since then has appeared to indicate any change of view. Prayer which does not ask for help, nor even for strength to live rightly or justly, is the mockery of needy man. Prayer which is simply communion with our higher consciousness is a travesty.

The issues thus raised by the President involve, of course, the fundamentals of the faith. It is not a question of denominational differences. If this be 'sectarianism'

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

the Christian Church as a whole lies under the charge. Whatever be the form of doctrine, or government, or worship, the God of the Church is One to whom she approaches, saying "Oh, Thou that hearest prayer, unto Thee shall all flesh come!" If such views become current in our academic halls by reason of the official visitations of the President of the Foundation, the chapels in which from day to day the voice of prayer has been heard, may be converted into gymnasiums or laboratories. Young men, even under compulsion, will not engage in mockeries and travesties of the faith of their fathers, even if their own faith be not strong. Earnest young men to whom the problems of life are already real, and who have learned to carry them to God, will turn, some of them from the institution, and some of them from God Himself. Like Elijah, the youth of our Christian homes have learned to believe in the prayer-hearing and the prayer-answering God. And, if it be said that the President of the Foundation, when visiting the institutions, refrains from expressing these radical views, is it to be supposed that either professors or students will remain uninfluenced by what they know to be the real belief of the man whose place is the most powerful in the Foundation under which their institution has been brought? In such a case, silence is more eloquent than speech and it is an eloquence which forbodes spiritual death to all who come under its spell. Let us again remind ourselves that these are the views of the President alone, and that we are under obligations to him for his frankness and for his lucidity, and further, that he is entitled to all freedom in holding and propagating them. Let us also remember that the trustees and the founder are entirely within their rights in the selection of a president for the Foundation. The question lies not with the founder, nor the Foundation, nor the president, but with the Christian men in charge of Christian institutions carrying this overwhelming responsibility: If the cause of religion suffers in such an institution, the blame will lie with those who, representing the institution, have

urged and consented to its separation from the Christian Church.

These, the legal, the economic, the ethical, the ecclesiastical, the general educational, and the religious, are some of the considerations which must weigh with Christian institutions looking towards the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation. These considerations vary in their application to each case, but in one form or another they bear upon the life of every one of our colleges. The president or the board of control of a Christian institution making application to the Carnegie Foundation says, virtually, to his own constituency, to the Church in which his institution has been nourished, and to the Christian community at large ;

NECESSARY ASSURANCES AND GUARANTEES

1. No legal hindrance arising out of the charter or the constitutional relations of our college exists. Not only our lawyers, and our legislature, but the higher courts, justify us in renouncing our relationship to the Christian Church and assure us that the rights of all parties in interest are conserved by this step.

2. A wise economy of the financial resources of our institutions, and a careful forecast of our expectations from the community and the Church alike, commend our application for the benefactions of the Foundation.

3. The moral right of our case is so clear that no reasonable man would misunderstand us or judge that we were exalting unduly the value of money in the life of our institution. Our young men, who are soon to go out into life, will carry with them from our act the highest ideals of character and conduct.

4. The policy we will hereafter pursue under the guidance of the Foundation, makes for the largest results in, not only the intellectual training of our students, but the preparation of them for life as self-reliant, independent thinkers and workers in the complex social organism of the day.

5. Our relations with the Church with which we have

been affiliated, will not be hindered by this new relationship, nor will we be influenced thereby to policies contrary to those which the experience of the Church has approved.

6. The religious life of our faculty and our student-body is so surely, and so fixedly, Christian, that we can without danger bring our institution into personal contact with those who openly deny the fundamentals of the Christian faith, and we cheerfully accept all responsibility for the results of such contact.

These considerations, in one form or another, will of course be duly weighed by those who are now in charge of our Church institutions. If, under the conclusions they reach, they are obliged to decline the benefits of the Foundation, they will feel a sincere regret that advantages so great must be relinquished, and that the generous founder, in the exercise of his discretion, saw fit to fix conditions which are insurmountable obstacles to their acceptance of his benefactions. They will be grateful for the gifts he has made to their institutions without these conditions. They will feel confident that he and every other sane man will recognize the principles by which they are guided, and the trusts which they are called to administer. And they will part, if part they must, as friends and fellow-workers in a large field, though with the aims in view standing out in sharp contrast.

IX.

THE CHURCH AND HER VETERANS: AN ADEQUATE PROVISION

Meantime, the needs of the veteran professors press for attention. They are aging, and their service to the college is not what it once was, yet they have no means of livelihood except their salary.

What is to be done is, of course, a large question. President Schurman thinks that "the menace" of such corporations as the Carnegie Foundation would be removed if the trustees were made answerable to the public, or if the money were distributed among the colleges. In some in-

stances, the fine example set by Brown University will be followed. It will appear that, as at Brown: "There would be a keener interest in giving to a pension fund than in giving to any other object whatsoever. The appeal on behalf of our teaching staff would reach the heart of every alumnus".⁷⁷ The cost of a new building would give a fund sufficient to provide for the veterans, and although this may be a new appeal, the conscience of the constituency would respond.

In other instances, the resources of the college are so slender, and the material needs are so great, that such a fund is out of the question. Provision must be made from the outside for a pension fund as it is already made in part for salaries. The appeal must be made to the great heart of the Church which brought the college into being and has sustained it thus far. The Church must care for the veteran professor doing the work of God as she has cared for the veteran preacher of the Word of God. The President of the Foundation, Dr. Pritchett, has, with great directness, pointed out the duty of the Church to the institutions which she controls: "It is no part of Christian education to hold control of a college and leave it to starve".⁷⁸ It is, of course, easier for the Church to surrender this control and to leave an outside corporation to provide the funds than it is for her to provide them, but the history of the Church is full of instances in which she has risen to the need as it appears and provided for the work entrusted to her hands.⁷⁹ In

⁷⁷ *Final Report*, p. 5.

⁷⁸ *Christian Denominations and The Colleges*, p. 25.

⁷⁹ "While there is no hiding from our eyes the fact that there is in this new movement a serious menace to the cause of religious education, there is one possible outcome of it that may result in vast good to our cause. The only real charm in the new movement is the gold there is in it. It becomes, therefore, a terrific challenge to the Church to endow its schools adequately, and to provide a foundation for the sustenance of retired teachers. That the Church is amply able to do this there cannot be the slightest question. If it should decline to make such provision and thus allow the higher educational work to pass from its hands, it would become guilty of selling its most interesting and fruitful field for mere gold. This the Church will never do. It is

this conviction, she has established her colleges and endowed them, she has sent her missionaries throughout the land and through foreign lands, she has provided for the education of young men for the ministry, and for the relief of aged and infirm ministers. She did this in the days of her poverty. Now those days are past and she can no longer say "Silver and gold have I none". She raises today a hundred thousand dollars more readily than she raised a thousand dollars a hundred years ago. In this day of large gifts to Education, the difficulties are not to be thought of in comparison with those which were encountered when the great funds of the Church were first established. The appeal to Christian givers of broad sympathies and of large means would be effective, and this appeal would not interfere with those objects which, in the ordinary channels of Church benevolence, are already established. No conflict, therefore, would arise between this and the great causes which now claim the attention of the Church.

The question is, of course, a large one, but we are accustomed to large things today. The figures are, for the most part, available. A table prepared by the College Board of the Presbyterian Church affords the basis of calculation.⁸⁰ The results of the valuable investigations of the Carnegie Foundation into the actuarial and other questions are before

morally capable of the struggle necessary to raise any amount of money, but it is not morally capable of forsaking this supreme obligation to mankind." From an *Address before the Religious Education Association* at Nashville, Tenn., March 19, 1910, by Right Rev. James Atkins, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Waynesville, N. C.

⁸⁰ Inst.	Denomination	Faculty	Students	Property	Endowment
*11	Baptist	2,310	33,329	\$25,476,000	\$22,058,000
20	Christian	415	6,091	2,170,000	1,131,000
42	Congregational	1,746	21,769	6,662,000	24,394,000
47	Lutheran	557	8,842	3,039,000	767,000
103	Methodist	3,171	41,268	23,206,000	18,780,000
77	Presbyterian	1,578	19,796	14,096,000	8,688,000
10	Prot. Episcopal	667	5,744	17,284,000	18,970,000
61	Roman Catholic	1,649	16,248	25,350,000	1,517,000

us in the Reports.⁸¹ Possibly the Foundation would place at our disposal information more in detail. The rules to be followed would require some modification, but those of the Carnegie Foundation appear to be both just and considerate.⁸²

Such a fund should provide not only for the professors in our Church colleges but for all who serve the cause of Christ in the capacity of teachers or instructors in the institutions of the Church. The man or woman whose life has been given to teaching in the missionary schools in foreign lands, or in the missionary schools scattered throughout America, and this on a salary far below that of the average college professor, is as truly worthy of a retiring pension as the college professor. The missionary boards of the Church could confirm this statement, and probably would welcome such a provision for the devoted men and women who are under their direction. The professors in theological seminaries would have to be included if the system were comprehensive. The institutions would have to be classified and each class dealt with according to its grade and its scope.⁸³

⁸¹ *Bulletin: Financial Status of Professors in America and Germany.*

⁸² The underlying principles of these rules as stated by Dr. Pritchett are:

1. The retiring allowance must come to the teacher as a right and in accordance with fixed rules.
2. It should form a fair proportion of his active pay and a larger proportion of smaller salaries than of large ones.
3. The retiring allowance should be available at some fixed age and after some stated period of service.
4. Some account should be taken of disability.
5. Provision should be made for the widows of teachers who had become eligible.

⁸³ In the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., steps have already been taken to bring this question before the General Assembly. Overtures from the Synods of Illinois and Ohio, substantially the same, will be presented to the Assembly. The overture from the Synod of Illinois is as follows:

"The Synod of Illinois, having in view the needs of certain institutions of learning which are dependent on, or organically related to the Church, in the way of some provision for professors and teachers who have reached the age of retirement from active duty, and finding

If such a movement be too large for any one ecclesiastical body, it would be entirely in keeping with the trend of Christian sentiment if these bodies were to group themselves together, under their common denominational names, to provide this fund. Their institutions could readily be classified and a comprehensive plan applying to them all wrought out. Whatever the reasons be that keep these bodies apart, there is hardly anything which would prevent co-operation in this direction. The institutions are sufficiently alike, and their standards near enough together, to warrant co-operation. Every principle of efficiency and economy would favor such a combination, and substantial Church unity along the lines of least resistance would be secured, or, if not unity, federation in the best sense of the word. It would be easy to provide safeguards for the protection of the different constituent bodies.

It is entirely reasonable to anticipate that were such provision made, the institutions which in different ways have been related to the Christian Church and have altered their relations that they might be eligible to the Carnegie Foundation, would gladly resume their former relations, or even enter upon closer relations with the churches by which they were founded and in which they grew up. They parted from the Church with great reluctance and under what seemed to be the stress of financial necessity. Their attachment to the Church remains unabated and the interest of the Church in them is as great as ever. Is it too much to hope that, with many of these institutions, the establishment

that these institutions are of several different classes, finding also that, in the pressure of other claims, no provision has been made by these institutions for such professors and teachers, and having learned of the ample provisions now being offered to institutions which are without legal or organic relation to the Christian Church, does hereby overture the General Assembly of 1911, to inquire, by a special committee or otherwise, into the number and the classification of institutions of learning dependent on or organically related to our Church, which have no provision for retiring allowances for professors or teachers; to ascertain the equitable basis for such allowances and to propose a plan for a fund which shall provide, year after year, regular allowances to these devoted veterans in the service of Christ and His Church.

of such a fund would mark the glad day of their return to the Church?

Such a plan was, of course, undreamed of by our fathers and lacks the authority of precedent; but the general educational situation also lacks the authority of precedent. As our fathers heroically met the situation which faced them, so ought we to meet the situation which is before us. As they in their day had to make precedents, so must we in ours. This is true conservatism, and at the same time, true progress.

When the Church shall establish this fund, she will give to her educational work a stability which is greatly needed. She will not only provide for her veteran teachers and professors, but she will assure to those who are now in active service a sufficient support for their old age. Meeting thus the new demands, she will be able to maintain her historic place as the friend and guide in Christian education. Acknowledging the services of the generous founder of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, who, by his benefaction, pointed out the need and showed the way to meet it, and availing herself of the valuable results of the work of the Foundation, she will see to it that her colleges and academies are developed according to the highest standards, that they are kept abreast of the times in science and art and philosophy, that their courses meet the new demands of modern life, and, besides, that, more than ever, they surround their students with those influences which make for integrity, purity, courage and fidelity to the tasks of the common life. It is no secret that modern educators, in their efforts to withstand the trend of a purely secular theory, are looking wistfully for the sources of these higher influences. And the Church will serve the cause of education in general, as well as her own institutions, if she will show again that these influences take their rise in supernatural sources, that faith in God is the source of faith with and service to man, that the eternal world holds for men by far the larger part of

life, that the sure guide to the eternal is the Word of God and that true wisdom for man is to sit at the feet of Him Who is the Eternal Wisdom Incarnate.

The Church which girds herself for this task will command the sympathy and support of every man who has discovered the real lack in the present system of education.

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The Church of the Covenant.

Chicago.

ON THE BIBLICAL NOTION OF "RENEWAL"

The terms "renew", "renewing", are not of frequent occurrence in our English Bible. In the New Testament they do not occur at all in the Gospels, but only in the Epistles (Paul and Hebrews), where they stand, respectively, for the Greek terms *ἀνακαινόω* (II Cor. iv. 16, Col. iii. 10) with its cognates, *ἀνακαινίζω* (Heb. vi. 6) and *ἀνανεόομαι* (Eph. iv. 23), and *ἀνακαίνωσις* (Rom. xii. 2, Tit. iii. 5). If we leave to one side II Cor. iv. 16 and Heb. vi. 6, which are of somewhat doubtful interpretation, it becomes at once evident that a definite theological conception is embodied in these terms. This conception is that salvation in Christ involves a radical and complete transformation wrought in the soul (Rom. xii. 2, Eph. iv. 23) by God the Holy Spirit (Tit. iii. 5, Eph. iv. 24), by virtue of which we become "new men" (Eph. iv. 24, Col. iii. 10), no longer conformed to this world (Rom. xii. 2, Eph. iv. 22, Col. iii. 9), but in knowledge and holiness of the truth created after the image of God (Eph. iv. 24, Col. iii. 10, Rom. xii. 2). The conception, it will be seen, is a wide one, inclusive of all that is comprehended in what we now technically speak of as regeneration, renovation and sanctification. It embraces, in fact, the entire subjective side of salvation, which it represents as a work of God, issuing in a wholly new creation (II Cor. v. 17, Gal. vi. 15, Eph. ii. 10). What is indicated is, therefore, the need of such a subjective salvation by sinful man, and the provision for this need made in Christ (Eph. iv. 20, Col. iii. 11, Tit. iii. 6).

The absence of the terms in question from the Gospels does not in the least argue the absence from the teaching of the Gospels of the thing expressed by them. This thing is so of the essence of the religion of revelation that it could not be absent from any stage of its proclamation. That it should be absent would require that sin should be conceived to have wrought no subjective injury to man,

so that he would need for his recovery from sin only an objective cancelling of his guilt and reinstatement in the favor of God. This is certainly not the conception of the Scriptures in any of their parts. It is uniformly taught in Scripture that by his sin man has not merely incurred the divine condemnation but also corrupted his own heart; that sin, in other words, is not merely guilt but depravity; and that there is needed for man's recovery from sin, therefore, not merely atonement but renewal; that salvation, that is to say, consists not merely in pardon but in purification. Great as is the stress laid in the Scriptures on the forgiveness of sins as the root of salvation, no less stress is laid throughout the Scriptures on the cleansing of the heart as the fruit of salvation. Nowhere is the sinner permitted to rest satisfied with pardon as the end of salvation; everywhere he is made poignantly to feel that salvation is realized only in a clean heart and a right spirit.

In the Old Testament, for example, sin is not set forth in its origin as a purely objective act with no subjective effects, or in its manifestation as a series of purely objective acts out of all relation to the subjective condition. On the contrary, the sin of our first parents is represented as no less corrupting than inculcating; shame is as immediate a fruit of it as fear (Gen. iii. 7). And, on the principle that no clean thing can come out of what is unclean (Job xiv. 4), all that are born of woman are declared "abominable and corrupt," to whose nature iniquity alone is attractive (Job xv. 14-16). Accordingly, to become sinful, men do not wait until the age of accountable action arrives. Rather, they are apostate from the womb, and as soon as they are born go astray, speaking lies (Ps. lviii. 3): they are even shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin (Ps. li. 5). The propensity (רָצוֹן) of their heart is evil from their youth (Gen. viii. 21), and it is out of the heart that all the issues of life proceed (Prov. iv. 2, xx. 11). Acts of sin are therefore but the expression of the natural heart, which is deceitful above all things and desperately sick

(Jer. xvii. 9). The only hope of an amendment of the life, lies accordingly in a change of heart; and this change of heart is the desire of God for His people (Deut. v. 29) and the passionate longing of the saints for themselves (Ps. li. 10). It is, indeed, wholly beyond man's own power to achieve it. As well might the Ethiopian hope to change his skin and the leopard his spots as he who is wonted to evil to correct his ways (Jer. xiii. 20); and when it is a matter of cleansing not of hands but of heart—who can declare that he has made his heart clean and is pure from sin (Prov. xx. 9)? Men may be exhorted to circumcise their hearts (Deut. x. 10, Jer. iv. 4), and to make themselves new hearts and new spirits (Ezek. xviii. 31); but the background of such appeals is rather the promise of God than the ability of man (Deut. v. 29, Ezek. xi. 19, cf. Keil *in loc.*). It is God alone who can “turn” a man “a new heart” (1 Sam. x. 9), and the cry of the saint who has come to understand what his sin means, and therefore what cleansing from it involves, is ever, “Create (**בָּרָא**) in me a new heart, O God, and renew (**הָרַשׁ**) a steadfast spirit within me” (Ps. li. 10 [12]). The express warrant for so great a prayer is afforded by the promise of God who, knowing the incapacity of the flesh, has Himself engaged to perfect His people. He will circumcise their hearts, that they may love the Lord their God with all their heart and with all their soul; and so may live (Deut. xxx. 6). He will give them a heart to know Him that He is the Lord; that so they may really be His people and He their God (Jer. xxiv. 4). He will put His law in their inward parts and write it in their heart so that all shall know Him (Jer. xxxi. 33, cf. xxxii. 39). He will take the stony heart out of their flesh and give them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in His statutes and keep his ordinances and do them, and so be His people and He their God (Ezek. xi. 19). He will give them a new heart and take away the stony heart out of their flesh; and put His Spirit within them and cause them to walk in His statutes and keep His judg-

ments and do them: that so they may be His people and He their God (Ezek. xxxvi. 26, cf. xxxvii. 29). Thus the expectation of a new heart was made a substantial part of the Messianic promise, in which was embodied the whole hope of Israel.

It does not seem open to doubt that in these great declarations we have the proclamation of man's need of "renewal" and of the divine provision for it as an essential element in salvation.¹ We must not be misled by the emphasis placed in the Old Testament on the forgiveness of sins as the constitutive fact of salvation, into explaining away all allusions to the cleansing of the heart as but figurative expressions for pardon. Pardon is no doubt frequently set forth under the figure or symbol of washing or cleansing: but expressions such as those which have been adduced go beyond this. When, then, it is suggested² that Psalm li, for example, "contains only a single prayer, namely for forgiveness"; and that "the cry, 'Create in me a clean heart' is a petition not for what we call renewal" but only for "forgiving grace", we cannot help thinking the contention an extravagance,—an extravagance, moreover, out of keeping with its author's language elsewhere, and indeed in this very context where he speaks quite simply of the pollution as well as the guilt of sin as included in the scope of the confession made in this psalm.³ The word "create" is a strong one and appears to invoke from God the exertion of

¹"The necessity of a change of disposition for the reception of salvation is indicated (Jer. xxxi. 33, Ezek. xxxvi. 35)"—König, *Offenbarungsbegriff d. A. T.* II p. 398, note. "Indications are not wholly lacking that some of the prophets, at least, believed man unable to make himself acceptable to God . . . It is God who cleanses the heart by cleansing away the dross (Isa. i. 25, vi. 7, Jer. xxxi. 31-34, xxxii. 8)"—J. M. P. Smith, *Biblical Ideas of Atonement*, 1909, p. 28. "Ezekiel is even so bold as to declare that we amend our lives because God gives us a new heart and a new spirit (xi. 19)"—*Expository Times*, Feb. 1908, p. 240.

²Cf. A. B. Davidson, *Theology of the O. T.*, p. 232.

³P. 234; cf. in general p. 244: "There is, therefore, both guilt and pollution to be removed in the realization in Israel of the life of God." Similarly Delitzsch *in loc.*: "the prayer for justification is followed by the prayer for renewing."

His almighty power for the production of a new subjective state of things: and it does not seem easy to confine the word "heart" to the signification "conscience" as if the prayer were merely that the conscience might be relieved from its sense of guilt. Moreover, the parallel clause, "Renew a steadfast spirit within me," does not readily lend itself to the purely objective interpretation.³ That the transformation of the heart promised in the great prophetic passages must also mean more than the production of a clear conscience, is equally undeniable and indeed is not denied. When Jeremiah (xxx. 31-33), for example, represents God as declaring that what shall characterize the New Covenant which He will make with the House of Israel, is that He will put His law in the inward parts of His people and write it in their hearts, he surely means to say that God promises to work a subjective effect in the hearts of Israel, by virtue of which their very instincts and most intimate impulses shall be on the side of the law, obedience to which shall therefore be but the spontaneous expression of their own natures.⁴

³ Baethgen's comment on the verse runs: "The singer knows that for the steadfastness of heart sought in verse 8, there is needed a new creation, a rebirth. **לֵב נָכוֹן** in the Kal is always used only of the divine production. The heart is the central organ of the whole religious moral life; the parallel **רוּחַ** is its synonym. Steadfast (**נָכוֹן**) the spirit is called so far as it does not hesitate between good and evil."

⁴ Cf. e. g., A. B. Davidson, *Hastings' BD.*, I pp. 514 sq.: "Jehovah will make a new covenant with Israel, that is, forgive their sins and write His law in their hearts—the one in His free grace and the other by His creative act"; also IV, p. 119a, and the fine exposition of Ezek. xxxvi. 17-38 in the *Theology of the O. T.*, p. 343. On the other hand Giesebrecht, *Handkom. Jer.* p. 171 thinks "Jeremiah has not yet advanced to the 'new heart' (Ezek. xi. 19, xxvi. 26 sq., Ps. li. 12); what he is thinking of is an inner influence on the heart by divine power, so that it attains a new attitude to the contents of the law." But this divine power is certainly conceived as creative. "The prophets," says Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes* 1899, p. 77, "were convinced that God Himself must interfere in order to produce the ideal condition which He demands. The ideal kingdom in which dwell piety and righteousness cannot, therefore, be a result of the natural development of the people, but it can come into existence only by an act of God, by a miracle, by the outpouring of the divine Spirit."

It is equally important to guard against lowering the conception of the Divine holiness in the Old Testament until the demand of God that His people shall be holy as He is holy,⁵ and the provisions of His Grace to make them holy by an inner creative act, are robbed of more or less of their deeper ethical meaning. Here, too, some recent writers are at fault, speaking at times almost as if holiness in God were merely a sort of fastidiousness, over against which is set not so much all sin as uncleanness, as all uncleanness, as in this sense sin.⁶ The idea is that what this somewhat squeamish God did not find agreeable those who served Him would discover it well to avoid; rather than that all sin is necessarily abominable to the holy God and He will not abide it in His servants. This lowered view is sometimes even pushed to the extreme of suggesting⁷ that "it is nowhere intimated that there is any danger to the sinner because of his uncleanness;" if he is "cut off" that is solely on account of his disobedience in not cleansing himself, not on account of the uncleanness itself. The extremity of this contention is its sufficient refutation. When the sage declares that no one can say "I have made my heart clean, I am pure from sin" (Prov. xx. 9), he clearly means to intimate that an unclean heart is itself sinful. The Psalmist in bewailing his inborn sinfulness and expressing his longing for truth in the inward parts and wisdom in the hidden parts, certainly conceived his unclean heart as properly sinful in the sight of God, (Ps. li). The prophet abject before the holy God (Is. vi) beyond question looked upon his uncleanness as itself iniquity requiring to be taken away by expiatory purging. It would seem unquestionable that throughout the Old Testament the uncleanness which is offensive to Jehovah is sin considered as pollution, and that salvation from sin involves therefore a process of purification as well as expiation.

⁵ Cf. Dillmann, *Alttest. Theologie*, pp. 421-2.

⁶ E. g., A. B. Davidson, *Theology of O. T.*, pp. 348 sq.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 352-3, against Riehm.

The agent by whom the cleansing of the heart is effected is in the Old Testament uniformly represented as God Himself, or, rarely, more specifically as the Spirit of God, which is the Old Testament name for God in His effective activity. It has, indeed, been denied that the Spirit of God is ever regarded in the Old Testament as the worker of holiness.⁸ But this extreme position cannot be maintained.⁹ It is true enough that the Spirit of God comes before us in the Old Testament chiefly as the Theocratic Spirit endowing men as servants of the Kingdom, and after that as the Cosmical Spirit, the principle of all world-processes; and only occasionally as the creator of new ethical life in the individual soul.¹⁰ But it can scarcely be doubted that in Ps. li. 11 [13] God's Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of God's holiness, is conceived in that precise manner, and the same is true of Psalm cxliii. 10 (cf. Is. lxiii. 10, 11 and see Gen. vi. 3, Neh. ix. 20, 1 Sam. x. 6, 9).¹¹ It is chiefly, however, in promises of the future that this aspect of the Spirit's work

⁸ Cf., e. g., Beversluis, *De heilige Geest in zijne Werkingen*, 1896, p. 38: "Although the spirit of God may, no doubt, be brought into connection with a moral renewing (in Ezek. xxxvi. 27) nevertheless an ethical operation of the Spirit of God is nowhere taught in the Old Testament."

⁹ Cf., e. g., Swete, *Hastings' BD.*, II, pp. 403-4; and Davidson, *ibid.*, IV, p. 119a: "Later prophets perceive that man's spirit must be determined by an operation of God who will write His law on it (Jno. iii. 33), or who will put His own Spirit within him as the impulsive principle of his life (Is. xxxii. 15, Ezek. xxxvi. 26ff)."

¹⁰ Cf. *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Oct. 1895, pp. 669 sq.

¹¹ As even Gunkel allows, *Die Wirkungen, &c.*,² p. 77: "On the other hand the Spirit appears as the principle of religion and morality in Ezek. xxxvi. 27; Is. xxviii. 6; xxxii. 15 sq.; with which Zech. xii. 10 may be compared. To these may be added the passages, not cited by Wendt, Is. xi. 2 and Ps. li. 13; cxliii. 10, the two last of which have far the most significance for our problem, because they present the doctrine of the Spirit in its relation to the life of pious individuals" (cf. pp. 78 and 79). Delitzsch, on Ps. li. 12, 13, thinks it nevertheless a mistake to take "the Holy Spirit" here as "the Spirit of grace" as distinct from the "Spirit of office". David, he says, is thinking of himself as king, as Israelite, and as man, without distinguishing between them: the Spirit in his mind is that with which he was anointed (1 Sam. xvi. 13); and he speaks of His total effects without differentiation.

is dwelt upon.¹² The recreative activity of the Spirit of God is even made the crowning Messianic blessing (Is. xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 16, xlv. 3, on which see Giesebrecht, *Die Berufsbegabung*, etc., p. 144, lix. 21, Ezek. x. 29, xviii. 31, xxvi. 26, xxxvii. 14, xxxix. 29, Zech. xii. 10); and this is as much as to say that the promised Messianic salvation included in it provision for the renewal of men's hearts as well as for the expiation of their guilt.¹³

It would be distinctly a retrogression from the Old Testament standpoint, therefore, if our Lord—Himself, in accordance with Old Testament prophecy (e. g., Is. xi. 1, xlii. 1, lxi. 1), endowed with the Spirit (Mt. iii. 16, iv. 1, xii. 18, 28, Mk. i. 10, 12, Lk. iii. 22, iv. 1, 14, 18, x. 21, Jno. i. 32, 33) above measure (Jno. iii. 34)¹⁴—had neglected the Messianic promise of spiritual renewal. In point of fact, He began His ministry as the dispenser of the Spirit (Mt. iii. 11, Mk. i. 8, Lk. iii. 16, Jno. i. 33). And the purpose for which He dispensed the Spirit is unmistakably represented as the cleansing of the heart. The distinction of Jesus is, indeed, made to lie precisely in this,—that whereas John could baptise only with water, Jesus baptised with the Holy Spirit: the repentance which was symbolized by the one was wrought by the other. And this repentance (*μετάνοια*) was no mere vain regret for an ill-spent past (*μεταμέλεια*), or surface modification of conduct, but a radical transformation of the mind which issues indeed in "fruits worthy of repentance" (Lk. iii. 8, i. e., *ἐπιστροφή*) but itself consists in an inward reversal of mental attitude.

There is little subsequent reference in the Synoptic Gospels, to be sure, to the Holy Spirit as the renovator of hearts. It is made clear, indeed, that He is the best of gifts

¹² Cf. Gunkel, as cited, p. 78, and Delitzsch on Ps. li. 12, 13; also Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 296: "Jeremiah and Ezekiel recognized a miraculous transformation in the heart of the people of the future."

¹³ Cf. in general, *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Oct. 1895, art. "The Spirit of God in the O. T." pp. 679ff.

¹⁴ For on the whole it seems best so to understand this verse.

and that the Father will not withhold Him from those that ask Him (Lk. xi. 13), and that He abides in the followers of Jesus and works in and through them (Mt. x. 20, Mk. xiii. 11, Lk. xii. 12); and it is made equally clear that He is the very principle of holiness, so that to confuse His activity with that of unclean spirits argues absolute perversion (Mt. xii. 31, Mk. iii. 29, Lk. xii. 10). But these two things do not happen to be brought together in these Gospels.¹⁵

In the Gospel of John, on the other hand, the testimony of the Baptist is followed up by the record of the searching conversation of our Lord with Nicodemus, in which Nicodemus is rebuked for not knowing—though “the teacher of Israel”—that the Kingdom of God is not for the children of the flesh but only for the children of the Spirit (cf. Mat. iii. 9). Nicodemus had come to our Lord as to a teacher, widely recognized as having a mission from God. Jesus repels this approach as falling far below recognizing Him for what He really was and for what he had really come to do. As a divinely sent teacher He solemnly assures Nicodemus that something much more effective than teaching is needed: “Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born anew he cannot see the Kingdom of God” (iii. 3). And then, when Nicodemus, oppressed by the sense of the profundity of the change which must indeed be wrought in man if he is to be fitted for the Kingdom of God, despairingly inquires “How can this be?” our Lord explains equally solemnly that it is only by a sovereign, recreating work of the Holy Spirit, that so great an effect can be wrought: “Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God” (iii. 5). Nor, he adds, ought such a declaration to cause surprise: what is born of the flesh can be nothing but flesh; only what is born of the Spirit is spirit. He closes the discussion with a reference to the sovereignty of the action of the Spirit in regenerating men: as with the

¹⁵ See in general, however, Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*, p. 259.

wind which blows where it lists, we know nothing of the Spirit's coming except Lo, it is here! (iii. 8). About the phrase, "Born of water and the Spirit" much debate has been had; and various explanations of it have been offered. The one thing which seems certain is that there can be no reference to an external act, performed by men, of their own will: for in that case the product would not be spirit but flesh, neither would it come without observation. Is it fanciful to see here a reference back to the Baptist's, "I indeed baptise with water; He baptises with the Holy Spirit"? The meaning then would be that entrance into the Kingdom of God requires, if we cannot quite say not only repentance but also regeneration, yet at least we may say both repentance and regeneration. In any event it is very pungently taught here that the precondition of entrance into the Kingdom of God is a radical transformation wrought by the Spirit of God Himself.¹⁶

Beyond this fundamental passage there is little said in John's Gospel of the renovating activities of the Spirit. The communication of the Spirit of xx. 22 seems to be an official endowment; and although in vii. 39 the allusion appears to be to the gift of the Spirit to believers at large, the stress seems to fall rather on the blessing they bring to others by virtue of this endowment, than on that they receive themselves. There remains only the great promise of the Paraclete. It would probably be impossible to attribute more depth or breadth of meaning than rightfully belongs to them, to the passages which embody this promise (xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 7, 13). But the emphasis appears to be laid in them upon the illuminating (cf. also Lk. i. 15, 41, 67, ii. 25, 26; Mt. xxii. 42, 11) more than upon the sancti-

¹⁶ Cf. Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, E. T., II, 91: "Jesus here at the outset declares, in the only passage in the Fourth Gospel where the conception of the Kingdom of God is directly mentioned, that a complete new birth, taking place from the commencement, and, indeed, a birth from the Spirit of God, is indispensably necessary in order both to seeing (that is, experiencing) and to entering the Kingdom of God (vss. 3 and 5)"

fying influences of the Spirit, although assuredly the latter are not wholly absent (xvi. 7-11).

Elsewhere in John, although apart from any specific reference to the Spirit as the agent, repeated expression is given to the fundamental conception of renewal. Men lie dead in their sins and require to be raised from the dead if they are to live (xi. 25, 26); it is the prerogative of the Son to quicken whom He will (v. 21); it is impossible for men to come to the Son, unless they be drawn by the Father (vi. 44); being in the Son it is only of the Father that they can bear fruit (xv. 1). Similarly in the Synoptics there is lacking nothing to this teaching, except the specific reference of the effects to the Holy Spirit. What is required of men is nothing less than perfection even as the heavenly Father is perfect (Mt. v. 48—the New Testament form of the Old Testament “Ye shall be holy for I am holy, Jehovah your God”, Lev. xix. 2). And this perfection is not a matter of external conduct but of internal disposition. One of the objects of the “Sermon on the Mount” is to deepen the conception of righteousness and to carry back both sin and righteousness into the heart itself (Mat. v. 20). Accordingly, the external righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees is pronounced just no righteousness at all; it is the cleansing merely of the outside of the cup and of the platter (Mt. xxiii. 25), and they are therefore but as whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful but inwardly are full of dead men’s bones (Mt. xxiii. 27, 28). True cleansing must begin from within; and this inward cleansing will cleanse the outside also (Mt. xxiii. 26, xv. 11). The fundamental principle is that every tree brings forth fruit according to its nature, whether good or bad; and therefore the tree must be made good and its fruit good, or else the tree corrupt and its fruit corrupt (Mat. vii. 17, xii. 33, xv. 11, Mk. vii. 15, Lk. vi. 43, xi. 34). So invariable and all-inclusive is this principle in its working, that it applies even to the idle words which men speak, by which they may therefore be justly judged: none that are evil

can speak good things, "for it is out of the abundance of the heart that the mouth speaketh" (Mat. xii. 34). Half-measures are therefore unavailing (Mat. vi. 21); a radical change alone will suffice—no mere patching of the new on the old, no pouring of new wine into old bottles (Mat. ix. 16, 17, Mk. ii. 21, 22, Lk. v. 36, 39). He who has not a wedding-garment—the gift of the host—even though he be called shall not be chosen (Mat. xxii. 11, 12).

Accordingly when—in the Synoptic parallel to the conversation with Nicodemus—the rich young ruler came to Jesus with his heart set on purchase (as a rich man's heart is apt to be set), pleading his morality, Jesus repelled him and took occasion to pronounce upon not the difficulty only but the impossibility of entrance into the Kingdom of heaven on such terms (Mat. xix. 23, Mk. x. 23, Lk. xviii. 24). The possibility of salvation, He explains, just because it involves something far deeper than this, rests in the hands of God alone (Mat. xix. 26, Mk. x. 27, Lk. xviii. 27). Man himself brings nothing to it; the Kingdom is received in naked helplessness (Mat. xix. 21 ||). It is not without significance that, in all the Synoptics, the conversation with the rich young ruler is made to follow immediately upon the incident of the blessing of the little children (Mat. xix. 13 ||). When our Lord says, with reference to these children (they were mere babies, Lk. xviii. 15),¹⁷ that, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven," he means just to say that the kingdom of heaven is never purchased by any quality whatever, to say nothing now of deeds: whosoever enters it enters it as a child enters the world,—he is born into it by the power of God. In these two incidents, of the child set in the midst and of the rich young ruler, we have, in effect, acted parables of the new birth; they exhibit to us how men enter the kingdom and set the declaration made to Nicodemus (Jno. iii. 1 *sq.*) before us in vivid object-lesson. And if the kingdom can be entered thus only in nakedness as a child comes into the world, all

¹⁷ Cf. *Hastings' DCG.*, art. *Children*.

stand before it in like case and it can come only to those selected therefor by God Himself: where none have a claim upon it the law of its bestowment can only be the Divine will (Mat. xi. 27, xx. 15).¹⁸

The broad treatment characteristic of the Gospels only partly gives way as we pass to the Epistles. Discriminations of aspects and stages, however, begin to become evident; and with the increased material before us we easily perceive lines of demarcation which perhaps we should not have noted with the Gospels only in view. In particular we observe two groups of terms standing over against one another, describing, respectively, from the manward and from the Godward side, the great change experienced by him who is translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of the Son of God's love (Col. i. 13). And within the limits of each of these groups, we observe also certain distinctions in the usage of the several terms which make it up. In the one group are such terms as *μετανοεῖν* with its substantive *μετάνοια*, and its cognate *μεταμέλεσθαι*, and *ἐπιστρέφειν* and its substantive *ἐπιστροφή*. These tell us what part man takes in the change. The other group includes such terms as *γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν* or *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ* or *ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος*, *παλιγγενεσία*, *ἀναγεννᾶν*, *ἀποκνεῖσθαι*, *ἀνανεοῦσθαι*, *ἀνακαινοῦσθαι*, *ἀνακαίνωσις*. These tell what part God takes in the change. Man repents, makes amendment, and turns to God. But it is by God that men are renewed, brought forth, born again into newness of life. The transformation which to human vision manifests itself as a change of life (*ἐπιστροφή*) resting upon a radical change of mind (*μετάνοια*), to Him who searches the heart and understands all the movements of the human soul is known to be a creation (*κτίζειν*) of God, beginning in a new birth from the Spirit (*γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος*) and issuing in a new divine product (*ποίημα*), created in Christ Jesus into good works prepared by God beforehand that they may be walked in (Eph. ii. 10).

¹⁸ Cf. Wendt, as cited, p. 54-55 note.

There is certainly synergism here; but is it a synergism of such character that not only is the initiative taken by God (for "all things are of God", II Cor. v. 17, cf. Heb. vi. 6), but the Divine action is in the exceeding greatness of God's power, according to the working of the strength of His might which He wrought in Christ when He raised Him from the dead (Eph. i. 19). The "new man" which is the result of this change is therefore one who can be described no otherwise than as "created" (κτισθέντα) in righteousness and holiness of truth (Eph. iv. 24), after the image of God significantly described as "He who created him" (τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν, Col. iii. 10),—that is not He who made him a man, but He who has made him by an equally creative efflux of power this new man which he has become.¹⁹ The exhortation that we shall "put on" this new man (Eph. iv. 23, cf. iii. 9, 10), therefore does not imply that either the initiation or the completion of the process by which the "new creation" (καινὴ κτίσις; II Cor. v. 17, Gal. vi. 15) is wrought lies in our own power; but only urges us to that diligent coöperation with God in the work of our salvation, to which He calls us in all departments of life (I Cor. iii. 9), and the classical expression of which in this particular department is found in the great exhortation of Phil. ii. 12, 13 where we are encouraged to work out our own salvation thoroughly to the end, with fear and trembling, on the express ground that it is God who works in us both the willing and doing for His good pleasure. The express inclusion of "renewal" in the exhortation (Eph. iv. 23 ἀνανεοῦσθαι; Rom. xii. 2 μεταμορφοῦσθαι τῇ ἀνακαινώσει) is indication enough that this "renewal" is a process wide enough to include in itself the whole synergistic "working out" of salvation (κατεργάζεσθε, Phil. ii. 12). But it has no tendency to throw doubt upon the underlying fact that this "working out" is both set in motion (τὸ θέλειν) and given effect (τὸ ἐνεργεῖν), only by the energizing of God (ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν), so that all (τὰ πάντα) is from God (ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, II

¹⁹ Cf. Lightfoot *in loc.*

Cor. v. 17). Its effect is merely to bring "renewal" (*ἀνακαίνωσις*) into close parallelism with "repentance" (*μετάνοια*)—which itself is a gift of God (II Tim. ii. 25, *cf.* Acts v. 31, xi. 18) as well as a work of man—as two names for the same great transaction, viewed now from the Divine, and now from the human point of sight.

It will not be without interest to observe the development of *μετανοεῖν*, *μετάνοια* into the technical term to denote the great change by which man passes from death in sin into life in Christ.²⁰ Among the heathen writers, the two terms *μεταμελεσθαι*, *μεταμέλεια* and *μετανοεῖν*, *μετάνοια*, although no doubt affected in their coloring by their differing etymological suggestions, and although *μετανοεῖν*, *μετάνοια* seems always to have been the nobler term, were practically synonymous. Both were used of the dissatisfaction which is felt in reviewing an unworthy deed; both of the amendment which may grow out of this dissatisfaction. Something of this indiscriminating usage extends into the New Testament. In the only three instances in which *μεταμέλεσθαι* occurs in the Gospels (Mat. xxi. 30, 32, xxvii. 3, *cf.* Heb. vii. 21 from Old Testament), it is used of a repentance which issued in the amended act; while in Lk. xvii. 3, 4 (but there only) *μετανοεῖν* may very well be understood of a repentance which expended itself in regret. Elsewhere in the New Testament *μεταμελεσθαι* is used in a single instance only (except Heb. vii. 21 from Old Testament) and then it is brought into contrast with *μετάνοια* as the emotion of regret is contrasted with a revolution of mind (II Cor. vii. 8 *sq.*). The Apostle had grieved the Corinthians with a letter and had regretted it (*μετεμελόμην*); he had, however, ceased to regret it (*μεταμέλομαι*), because he had come to perceive that their grief had led

²⁰ *Cf.* Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, § lxix. Also Effie Freeman Thompson, Ph.D., *METANOEO and METAMELEI in Greek Literature until 100 A. D.* 1908, pp. 29 especially the summary of New Testament usage pp. 28-29: *μετανοεῖν* is not used in the New Testament of the intellect or sensibilities but always of voluntative action; and prevailing not of specific but of generic choice.

the Corinthians to repent of their sin (*μετάνοια*), and certainly the salvation to which such a repentance tends is not to be regretted (*ἀμεταμέλητον*). Here *μεταμέλεσθαι* is the painful review of the past; but so little is *μετάνοια* this, that it is presented as a result of sorrow,—a total revolution of mind traced by the Apostle through the several stages of its formation in a delicate analysis remarkable for its insight into the working of a human soul under the influence of a strong revulsion (verse 11). Its roots were planted in godly sorrow, its issue was amendment of life, its essence consisted in a radical change of mind and heart towards sin. In this particular instance it was a particular sin which was in view; and in heathen writers the word is commonly employed of a specific repentance of a specific fault. In the New Testament this, however, is the rarer usage.^{20a} Here it prevailingly stands for that fundamental change of mind by which the back is turned not upon one sin or some sins, but upon all sin, and the face definitively turned to God and to His service,—of which therefore a transformed life (*ἐπιστροφή*) is the outworking.²¹ It is not itself this transformed life, into which it issues, any more than it is the painful regret out of which it issues. No doubt, it may spread its skirts so widely as to include on this side the sorrow for sin and on that the amendment of life; but what it precisely is, and what in all cases it emphasises, is the inner change of mind which regret induces and which itself induces a reformed life. Godly sorrow works repentance (II Cor. vii. 10): when we "turn" to God we are doing works worthy of repentance (Acts iii. 17, xxvi. 20, cf. Lk. iii. 8).

It is in this, its deepest and broadest sense, that *μετάνοια* corresponds from the human side to what from the divine

^{20a} Lk. xvii. 3, 4, Acts viii. 22, II Cor. vii. 9, 10, xii. 21, Heb. xii. 17; cf. also Rev. ii. 5, 16, 21, 22, iii. 3, 19.

²¹ Mat. iii. 2, iv. 17, xi. 20, 21, xii. 41, Mk. i. 15, vi. 12, Lk. x. 13, xi. 32, xiii. 3, 5, xv. 7, 10, xvi. 30, Acts ii. 38, iii. 19, xvii. 30, xxvi. 20, Mat. iii. 8, 11, Mk. i. 4, Lk. iii. 3, 8, v. 32, xv. 7, xxiv. 47, Acts v. 31, xi. 18, xiii. 24, xix. 4, xxvi. 20, Rom. ii. 4, II Tim. ii. 25, Heb. vi. 1, 6, II Pet. iii. 9, Rev. ix. 20, 21, xvi. 9, 11, cf. ii. 5, 16, 21, 22, iii. 3, 19.

point of sight is called ἀνακαίνωσις; or, rather, to be more precise, that μετάνοια is the psychological manifestation of ἀνακαίνωσις. This "renewal" (ἀνακαινούσθαι, ἀνακαίνωσις, ἀνανεοῦσθαι) is the broad term of its own group. It may be, to be sure, that παλιγγενεσία should take its place by its side in this respect. In one of the only two passages in which it occurs in the New Testament (Mat. xix. 28) it refers to the repristination not of the individual, but of the universe, which is to take place at "the end": and this usage tends to stamp upon the word the broad sense of a complete and thoroughgoing restoration. If in Tit. iii. 5 it is applied to the individual in such a broad sense, it would be closely coextensive in meaning with the ἀνακαίνωσις by the side of which it stands in that passage, and would differ from it only as a highly figurative differs from a more literal expression of the same idea.²² Our salvation, the Apostle would in that case say, is not an attainment of our own, but is wrought by God in His great mercy, by means of a regenerating washing, to wit, a renewal by the Holy Spirit.

The difficulty we experience in confidently determining the scope of παλιγγενεσία, arising from lack of a sufficiently copious usage to form the basis of our induction, attends us also with the other terms of its class. Nevertheless it seems tolerably clear that over against the broader "renewal" expressed by ἀνακαινούσθαι and its cognates and perhaps also by παλιγγενεσία, ἀναγεννᾶν (1 Pet. 3, 23) and with it, its synonym ἀποκνεῖσθαι (James i. 18) are of narrower connotation. We have, says Peter, in God's great mercy been rebegotten, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by means of the Word of the living and abiding God. It is in accordance with His own determination, says James, that we have been brought forth by the Father of Lights, from whom every good gift and every perfect boon comes, by means of the Word of truth. We have here an effect, the efficient agent in working which is God in His unbounded mercy, while the instrument

²² So *e. g.*, Weiss in *loc.*

by means of which it is wrought is "the word of good-tidings which has been preached" to us, that is to say, briefly, the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The issue is, equally briefly, just salvation. This salvation is characteristically described by Peter as awaiting its consummation in the future, while yet it is entered upon here and now not only (verse 4 *sq.*) as a "living hope" which shall not be put to shame (because it is reserved in heaven for us, and we meanwhile are guarded through faith for it by the power of God), but also in an accordant life of purity as children of obedience who would fain be like their Father and as He is holy be also ourselves holy in all manner of living. James intimates that those who have been thus brought forth by the will of God may justly be called "first fruits of His creatures," where the reference assuredly is not to the first but to the second creation, that is to say, they who have already been brought forth by the word of truth are themselves the product of God's creative energy and are the promise of the completed new creation when all that is shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God (Rom. viii. 19 *sq.*, Mat. xix. 28).

The new birth thus brought before us is related to the broader idea of "renewal" (*ἀνακαίνωσις*) as the initial stage to the whole process. The conception is not far from that embodied by our old Divines in the term "effectual calling" which they explained to be "by the Word and Spirit"; it is nowadays perhaps more commonly but certainly both less Scripturally and less descriptively spoken of as "conversion". It finds its further explanation in the Scriptures accordingly not under the terms *ἐπιστρέφειν*, *ἐπιστροφή*, which describe to us that in which it issues, but under the terms *καλέω*, *κλήσις*²³ which describe to us precisely what it is. By these terms, which are practically confined to Paul and Peter, the follower of Christ is said to owe his introduction into the new life to a "call" from God—a call distinguished from the call of mere invitation (Mat. xxii. 14),

²³ Cf. *Hastings' BD.*, IV 57b.

as "the call according to purpose" (Rom. viii. 28), a call which cannot fail of its appropriate effect, because there works in it the very power of God. The notion of the new birth is confined even more closely still to its initial step in our Lord's discourse to Nicodemus, recorded in the opening verses of the third chapter of John's Gospel. Here the whole emphasis is thrown upon the necessity of the new birth and its provision by the Holy Spirit. No one can see the Kingdom of God unless he be born again; and this new birth is wrought by the Spirit. Its advent into the soul is unobserved; its process is inscrutable; its reality is altogether an inference from its effects. There is no question here of means. That the ἐξ ὕδατος of verse 5 is to be taken as presenting the external act of baptism as the proper means by which the effect is brought about, is, as we have already pointed out, very unlikely. The axiom announced in verse 7 that all that is born of flesh is flesh and only what is born of the Spirit is spirit seems directly to negative such an interpretation by telling us flatly that we cannot obtain a spiritual effect from a physical action. The explanation of verse 8 that like the wind, the Spirit visits whom He will and we can only observe the effect and say Lo, it is here! seems inconsistent with supposing that it always attends the act of baptism and therefore can always be controlled by the human will. The new birth appears to be brought before us in this discussion in the purity of its conception; and we are made to perceive that at the root of the whole process of "renewal" there lies an immediate act of God the Holy Spirit upon the soul by virtue of which it is that the renewed man bears the great name of son of God. Begotten not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God (Jno. i. 13), his new life will necessarily bear the lineaments of his new parentage (1 Jno. iii. 9, 10; v. 4, 18): kept by Him who was in an even higher sense still begotten of God, he overcomes the world by faith, defies the evil one (who cannot touch him), and manifests in his righteousness and love the heritage which is his (1 Jno. ii.

29, iv. 7, v. 1). Undoubtedly the Spirit is active throughout the whole process of "renewal"; but it is doubtless the peculiarly immediate and radical nature of his operation at this initial point which gives to the product of His renewing activities its best right to be called a new creation (II Cor. v. 17, Gal. vi. 15), a quickening (Jno. v. 21, Eph. ii. 5), a making alive from the dead (Gal. iii. 21).

We perceive, then, that the Scriptural phraseology lays before us, as its account of the great change which the man experiences who is translated from what the Scriptures call darkness to what they call God's marvellous light (Eph. v. 8, Col. i. 13, I Pet. ii. 9, I Jno. ii. 8) a process; and a process which has two sides. It is on the one side a change of the mind and heart, issuing in a new life. It is on the other side a renewing from on high issuing in a new creation. But the initiative is taken by God: man is renewed unto repentance: he does not repent that he may be renewed (*cf.* Heb. vi. 6). He can work out his salvation with fear and trembling only because God works in him both the willing and the doing. At the basis of all there lies an enabling act from God, by virtue of which alone the spiritual activities of man are liberated for their work (Rom. vi. 22, viii. 2). From that moment of the first divine contact the work of the Spirit never ceases: while man is changing his mind and reforming his life, it is ever God who is renewing him in true righteousness. Considered from man's side the new dispositions of mind and heart manifest themselves in a new course of life. Considered from God's side the renewal of the Holy Spirit results in the production of a new creature, God's workmanship, with new activities newly directed. We obtain thus a regular series. At the root of all lies an act seen by God alone, and mediated by nothing, a direct creative act of the Spirit, the new birth. This new birth pushes itself into man's own consciousness through the call of the Word, responded to under the persuasive movements of the Spirit; his conscious possession of it is thus mediated by the Word. It becomes visible to his fellow men

only in a turning to God in external obedience, under the constant leading of the indwelling Spirit (Rom. viii. 14). A man must be born again by the Spirit to become God's son. He must be born again by the Spirit and Word to become consciously God's son. He must manifest his new spiritual life in Spirit-led activities accordant with the new heart which he has received and which is ever renewed afresh by the Spirit, to be recognized by his fellow-men as God's son. It is the entirety of this process, viewed as the work of God on the soul, which the Scriptures designate "renewal."

It must not be supposed that it is only in these semi-technical terms, however, that the process of "renewal" is spoken of in the Epistles of the New Testament any more than in the Gospels. There is, on the contrary, the richest and most varied employment of language, literal and figurative, to describe it in its source, or its nature, or its effects. It is sometimes suggested, for example, under the image of a change of vesture (Eph. iv. 24, Col. iii. 9, 10, *cf.* Gal. iii. 27, Rom. xiii. 14): the old man is laid aside like soiled clothing, and the new man put on like clean raiment. Sometimes it is represented, in accordance with its nature, less figuratively, as a metamorphosis (Rom. xii. 2): by the renewing of our minds we become transformed beings, able to free ourselves from the fashion of this world and prove what is the will of God, good and acceptable and perfect. Sometimes it is more searchingly set forth as to its nature as a reanimation (Jno. v. 21, Eph. ii. 4-6, Col. ii. 12, 13, Rom. vi. 3, 4): we are dead through our trespasses and the uncircumcision of our flesh; God raises us from this death and makes us sit in the heavenly places with Christ. Sometimes with less of figure and with more distinct reference to the method of the divine working, it is spoken of as a recreation (Eph. ii. 10, iv. 26, Col. iii. 10), and its product, therefore, as a new creature (II Cor. v. 1, Gal. vi. 15): we emerge from it as the workmanship of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works.

Sometimes with more particular reference to the nature and effects of the transaction, it is defined rather as a sanctification, a making holy (*ἀγιάζω*, I Thes. v. 23, Rom. xv. 1, 6, Rev. xxii. 11; *ἀγνίζω*, I Pet. i. 22; *ἀγιασμός*, I Thes. iv. 3, 7, Rom. vi. 19, 22, Heb. xii. 14, II Thes. ii. 13, I Pet. i. 2; *cf.* Ellicott, on I Thes. iv. 3, iii. 13): and those who are the subjects of the change are, therefore, called "saints" (*ἅγιοι*, *e. g.*, Rom. viii. 27, I Cor. vi. 1, 2, Col. i. 12). Sometimes again, with more distinct reference to its sources, it is spoken of as the "living" (Gal. ii. 20, Rom. vi. 9, 10, Eph. iii. 17) or "forming" (Gal. iv. 19, *cf.* Eph. iii. 17, I Cor. ii. 16, II Cor. iii. 8) of Christ in us, or more significantly (Rom. viii. 9, 10, Gal. vi. 6) as the indwelling of Christ or the Spirit in us, or with greater precision as the leading of the Spirit (Rom. viii. 14, Gal. v. 18): and its subjects are accordingly signalized as Spiritual men, that is, Spirit-determined, Spirit-led men (*πνευματικοί*, I Cor. ii. 15, iii. 1, Gal. vi. 1, *cf.* I Pet. ii. 5), as distinguished from carnal men, that is, men under the dominance of their own weak, vicious selves (*ψυχικοί* I Cor. ii. 4, Jude 19, *σαρκικοί*, I Cor. iii. 3). None of these modes of representation more clearly define the action than the last mentioned. For the essence of the New Testament representation certainly is that the renewal which is wrought upon him who is by faith in Christ, is the work of the Spirit of Christ, who dwells within His children as a power not themselves making for righteousness, and gradually but surely transforms after the image of God, not the stream of their activities merely, but themselves in the very centre of their being.

The process by which this great metamorphosis is accomplished is laid bare to our observation with wonderful clearness in Paul's poignant description of it, in the seventh chapter of Romans. We are there permitted to look in upon a heart into which the Spirit of God has intruded with His transforming power. Whatever peace it may have enjoyed is broken up. All its ingrained tenden-

cies to evil are up in arms against the intruded power for good. The force of evil habit is so great that the Apostle, in its revelation to him, is almost tempted to despair. "O wretched man that I am," he cries, "who shall deliver me out of the body of this death"? Certainly not himself. None knows better than he that with man this is impossible. But he bethinks himself that the Spirit of the most high God is more powerful than even ingrained sin; and with a great revulsion of heart he turns at once to cry his thanks to God through Jesus Christ our Lord. This conflict he sees within him, he sees now to bear in it the promise and potency of victory; because it is the result of the Spirit's working within him, and where the Spirit works, there is emancipation from the law of sin and death. The process may be hard—a labor, a struggle, a fight; but the end is assured. No matter how far from perfect we yet may be, we are not in the flesh but in the Spirit if the Spirit of God dwells in us; and we may take heart of faith from that circumstance to mortify the deeds of the body and to enter upon our heritage as children of God. Here in brief compass is the Apostle's whole doctrine of renewal. Without holiness we certainly shall not see the Lord: but he in whom the Holy Spirit dwells, is already potentially holy; and though we see not yet what we shall be, we know that the work that is begun within us shall be completed to the end. The very presence of strife within us is the sign of life and the promise of victory.

The church has retained, on the whole, with very considerable constancy the essential elements of this Biblical doctrine of "renewal". In the main stream of Christian thought, at all events, there has been little tendency to neglect, much less to deny it, at least theoretically. In all accredited types of Christian teaching it is largely insisted upon that salvation consists in its substance of a radical subjective change wrought by the Holy Spirit, by virtue of which the native tendencies to evil are progressively

eradicated and holy dispositions are implanted, nourished and perfected.

The most direct contradiction which this teaching has received in the history of Christian thought was that given it by Pelagius at the opening of the fifth century. Under the stress of a one-sided doctrine of human freedom, in pursuance of which he passionately asserted the inalienable ability of the will to do all righteousness, Pelagius was led to deny the need and therefore the reality of subjective operations of God on the soul ("grace" in the inner sense) to secure its perfection; and this carried with it as its necessary presupposition the denial also of all subjective injury wrought on man by sin. The vigorous reassertion of the necessity of subjective grace by Augustine put pure Pelagianism once for all outside the pale of recognized Christian teaching; although in more or less modified or attenuated forms, it has remained as a widely spread tendency in the churches, conditioning the purity of the supernaturalism of salvation which is confessed.

The strong emphasis laid by the Reformers upon the objective side of salvation, in the enthusiasm of their rediscovery of the fundamental doctrine of justification, left its subjective side, which was not in dispute between them and their nearest opponents, in danger of falling temporarily somewhat out of sight. From the comparative infrequency with which it was in the first stress of conflict insisted on, occasion, if not given, was at least taken, to represent that it was neglected if not denied. Already in the first generation of the Reformation movement, men of mystical tendencies like Osiander arraigned the Protestant teaching as providing only for a purely external salvation. The reproach was eminently unjust, and although it continues to be repeated up to to-day, it remains eminently unjust. Only among a few Moravian enthusiasts, and still fewer Antinomians, and, in recent times, in the case of certain of the Neo-Kohlbrüggian party, can a genuine tendency to neglect the subjective side of salvation be detected. With

all the emphasis which Protestant theology lays on justification by faith as the root of salvation, it has never failed to lay equal emphasis on sanctification by the Spirit as its substance. Least of all can the Reformed theology with its distinctive insistence upon "irresistible grace"—which is the very heart of the doctrine of "renewal"—be justly charged with failure to accord its rights to the great truth of supernatural sanctification. The debate at this point does not turn on the reality or necessity of sanctification, but on the relation of sanctification to justification. In clear accord with the teaching of Scripture, Protestant theology insists that justification underlies sanctification, and not *vice versa*. But it has never imagined that the sinner could get along with justification alone. It has rather ever insisted that sanctification is so involved in justification that the justification can not be real unless it be followed by sanctification. There has never been a time when it could not recognize the truth in and (when taken out of its somewhat compromising context) make heartily its own such an admirable statement of the state of the case as the following:²⁴—"However far off it may be from us or we from it, we cannot and ought not to think of our salvation as anything less than our perfected and completed sinlessness and holiness. We may be, to the depths of our souls, grateful and happy to be sinners pardoned and forgiven by divine grace. But surely God would not have us satisfied with that as the end and substance of the salvation He gives us in His Son. Jesus Christ is the power of God in us unto salvation. It does not require an exercise of divine power to extend pardon; it does require it to endow and enable us with all the qualities, energies and activities that make for, and that make holiness of life. See how St. Paul speaks of it when he prays, That we may know the exceeding greatness of God's power to usward who believe, according to that working in Christ when He raised Him from the dead".

²⁴ W. P. Du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, p. 175.

LITERATURE:—The literature of the subject is copious but also rather fragmentary. The best aid is afforded by the discussions of the terms employed in the Lexicons and of the passages which fall in review in the Commentaries: after that the appropriate sections in the larger treatises in Biblical Theology, and in the fuller Dogmatic treatises are most valuable. The articles of J. V. Bartlet in Hastings' BD. on *Regeneration* and *Sanctification* should be consulted,—they also offer a suggestion of literature; as do also the articles, *Bekehrung*, *Gnade*, *Wiedergeburt* in the several editions of Herzog. There are three of the prize publications of the Hague Society which have a general bearing on the subject: G. W. Semler's and S. K. Theoden van Velzen's *Over de voortdurende Werking des H. G.*, (1842) and E. I. Issel's *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im N. T.* (1887). Augustine's Anti-Pelagian treatises are fundamental for the dogmatic treatment of the subject; and the Puritan literature is rich in searching discussions,—the most outstanding of which are possibly: Owen, *Discourse concerning the Holy Spirit* (*Works*: Edinburgh, 1852, vol. iii.); T. Goodwin, *The Work of the Holy Ghost in our Salvation* (*Works*: Edinburgh, 1863, vol. vi.); Charnock, *The Doctrine of Regeneration*, Phil. 1840; Marshall, *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification*, London [1692], Edinburgh, 1815; Edwards, *The Religious Affections*. Cf. also Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade im relig. Leben des Volkes Israel bis auf Christum*, 1905; Vömel, *Der Begriff der Gnade im N. T.*, 1903; J. Kuhn: *Die christl. Lehre der göttlichen Gnade* (Part I) 1868; A. Dieckmann, *Die christl. Lehre von der Gnade* 1901; Storr, *De Spiritus Sancti in mentibus nostris efficientia*, 1779; J. P. Stricker, *Diss. Theol. de Mutatione homini secundum Jesu et App. doct. subeunda*, 1845.—P. Gennrich, *Die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt: die christl. Zentrallehre in dogmengeschichtlicher und religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, 1907; and *Wiedergeburt und Heiligung mit Bezug auf die gegenwärtigen Strömungen des religiösen Lebens*, 1908; H. Bavinck, *Roeping en Wedergeboorte*, 1903.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE FISH-SYMBOL.

IV

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ABERCIUS AND PECTORIUS

De Rossi described the Epitaph of Abercius as "facile princeps" among Christian inscriptions, and the Pectorius-inscription may be said to occupy a position of scarcely less importance. The interest of the former, however, is vastly increased by the fierce controversy which has raged over the question whether it is Christian at all. In deference to a custom which has been the unfortunate result of this controversy, I shall have first to review as briefly as possible the "Aberciusfrage", and state the reasons which seem to me to prove the Christianity of the inscription.

The Abercius-epitaph appears in the "Life of Abercius", which is incorporated in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists under October 22 and may also be found in the *Patrologia Graeca*.¹ It is a fabulous composition evidently elaborated from the data afforded by the epitaph itself, which the biographer says he copied from the tombstone and inserted in his text, adding that the inscription was somewhat mutilated. This legend of Abercius was probably formed as early as the fifth or sixth century. According to it, Abercius lived in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and was bishop of the city of Hieropolis in Little Phrygia.² The emperor sent envoys to bring him to Rome for the purpose of curing his daughter, who was ill with a disease that defied the skill of physicians. The holy bishop, finding her in possession of a devil, exorcised her, and desiring to put to some use the demon thus released, caused him to transport to Hieropolis a large block of stone which he had noticed standing in the circus. Upon this block, some time before

¹ Vol. CXV, col. 1211ff.

² For the distinction between this town and Hierapolis (given by the Mss.) of the Maeander valley, see Ramsay, *Jour. Hell. Studies*, 1882, pp. 339ff.

his death, he caused his epitaph to be engraved. He died at the age of seventy-two, after having travelled in Syria and Mesopotamia, where he received the title of *ἱσαπόστολος*.

Up to 1894, while the legend itself was rated worthless by all commentators, the authenticity of the epitaph itself, its Christian character, and the existence of a bishop Abercius were hardly called in question, except by Tillemont, who regarded the epitaph as a fabrication, and by Garrucci, who thought that some of its verses were interpolated. Pitra³ attempted to reconstruct the text of the epitaph from the manuscripts, but with little success, owing to their divergencies. The uncertainty of the text caused little attention to be paid to the monument thereafter until Ramsay's discovery of the original stone.

In 1881, Ramsay found near Synnada in Phrygia Salutaris, (which he has shown to be the province meant by the "Little Phrygia" of the "Life"), the following epitaph of a certain Alexander :

(Ἐ)κλεκτῆς πό(λε)ως ὁ πολεί(της) (τ)οὔτ' ἐποίη(σα)
 (Ζῶν ἴ)ν' ἔχω φανερ(ῶς) σώματος ἔνθα θέσιν.
 Οὕνομα Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀντωνίου μαθητῆς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ.
 Οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῶ ἕτερόν τι(ν)α θήσει,
 Εἰ δ' οὔν Ῥωμαίων τα(μ)εῖω θήσε(ι) δισχέιλια (χ)ρυσᾶ
 Καὶ (χ)ρηστῇ πατρίδι Ἱεροπόλει (χ)εῖλια χρυσᾶ.
 Ἐγράφη ἔτει τ' μηνὶ ς ζόντος.
 Εἰρήνη παράγουσιν κα(ὶ) μνησκομένοις περὶ ἡμῶν.⁴

This may be rendered in English as follows: "I, the citizen of a distinguished city, have caused this to be made in my lifetime, that I may have a visible resting-place here for my body. Alexander am I by name, son of Antonius and disciple of the holy shepherd. No one shall place another in my tomb; otherwise he shall pay to the Roman treasury two thousand pieces of gold, and to my good city of Hieropolis a thousand. Written in the year 300, in the sixth

³ *Spic. Solesm.* III. 1855, p. 533.

⁴ A fac-simile of this inscription is given by Duchesne in *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1895, pl. I.

month, and in my lifetime. Peace to those who pass and who remember me”.

The year 300 of the Phrygian era corresponds to 216 A.D. The interest of the inscription lies in its being a replica of the opening and closing verses of the epitaph of Abercius. That is to say, the first three lines of the epitaph of Alexander are equivalent to the first three of that of Abercius with the necessary change of name in the third verse, and the substitution of *φανερῶς* and *ἐνθά* for Abercius' *καιρῶ* and *ἐνθάδε* in the second; the following three are the same as the last three lines of the Abercius-epitaph, except that the latter has *ἐπάνω θήσειε* instead of the *τινα θήσει* in v. 4 of the Alexander-epitaph.

In 1883, Ramsay had the good fortune to discover two contiguous fragments of the original epitaph of Abercius, walled into the remains of the public baths of Hieropolis. One of these was soon afterward presented to the Pope by the Sultan, and Ramsay, who had taken the other piece to Scotland, presented it also to the Pontiff, so that at the present time the two fragments, comprising the central and most important portion of the epitaph, are on view in the Christian Museum of the Lateran.

From the manuscripts, the Alexander-epitaph, and the two original fragments thus recovered, the text of the epitaph has been almost completely restored. The latest critical edition is that of Lüdtke and Nissen, the noteworthy feature of which is the collation of a recently discovered Russian version of the epitaph to which Nissen ascribes considerable authority. In the following text of the inscription, I have followed this new source where it seems imperative to do so, and have given all its other readings of real importance in the subjoined note. Conjectures proposed by the advocates of non-Christian interpretations will be referred to later. The capitals indicate the portions preserved in the Lateran fragments:

ἐκλεκτῆς πόλεως ὁ πολεῖτης τοῦτ' ἐποίησα
ζῶν ἔν' ἔχω καιρῶ(?) σώματος ἐνθάδε θέσιν.

- οὐνομ' Ἀβέρκιος ὁ ὢν μαθητῆς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ,
 ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσι πεδίοις τε,
 5 ὀφθαλμοὺς ὃς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντα καθορόωντας.
 οὗτος γὰρ μ' ἐδίδαξε γράμματα πιστά,
 ΕΙΣ ΡΩΜΗΝ ὃς ἔπεμψεν ΕΜΕΝ ΒΑΣΙΛείαν ἀθρῆσαι (?)
 ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣαν ἰδεῖν χρυσόσ ΤΟΛΟΝ ΧΡΥ σοπέδιλον·
 ΛΑΟΝ Δ ΕΙΔΟΝ Εκεί λαμπρὰν ΣΦΡΑΓΕΙΔΑΝ Εχοντα,
 10 ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΙΗΣ ΠΕΔον εἶδον ΚΑΙ ΑΣΤΕΑ ΠΑντα διήειν (?)
 ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ ΔΙΑβὰς. πανΤΗ Δ ΕΣΧΟΝ ΣΤΝΟμίλους
 ΠΑΥΛΟΝ ΕΧΟΝ ΕΠΟ . . . ΠΙΣΤΙΣ πάντη δὲ προήγε
 ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΘΗΚΕ τροφὴν ΠΑΝΤΗ ΙΧΘΥΝ Απὸ πηγῆς
 ΠΑΝΜΕΓΕΘΗ ΚΑΘαρόν, ὃν ΕΔΡΑΞΑΤΟ ΠΑΡΘΕνος
 [ἀγνή
 15 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΤΟΝ ΕΠΕδωκε φίΛΟΙΣ ΕΣΘίειν (?) διὰ παντὸς
 οἶνον χρηστὸν ἔχουσα κέραςμα διδοῦσα μετ' ἄρτου.
 ταῦτα παρεστῶς εἶπον Ἀβέρκιος ὧδε γραφῆναι.
 ἑβδομηκοστὸν ἔτος καὶ δεύτερον εἶχον (?) ἀριθμόν.
 ταῦθ' ὁ νοῶν εὖξαιτο ὑπὲρ Ἀβερκίου πᾶς ὁ συνωδός.
 20 οὐ μέντοι τύμβῳ τις ἐμῷ ἕτερον ἐπάνω θήσειε,
 εἰ δ' οὖν Ῥωμαίων ταμείῳ θήσει δισχείλια χρυσᾶ
 καὶ χρηστῇ πατρὶδι Ἱεροπόλει χεῖλια χρυσᾶ.⁵

The translation follows: "I, the citizen of a distinguished city, have caused this to be made in my lifetime, that I may have in season (?) a resting-place here for my body. Aber-

⁵ V. 2: καὶ ὧς. Lüdtke reads from the Russian version "sed et". Nissen suggests καὶ ὧς in the original.

V. 7: ἀθρῆσαι. The Russian translator read ἀθροῖσαι. So also the Armenian version published by Conybeare (*Class. Rev.* 1895, pp. 295-297).

V. 10: The Russian version shows that some word like διήειν stood in its original. This seems finally to dispose of the strange Νισίβιν found here in the Mss., which has vexed commentators so long.

V. 11: Lüdtke's "collocutores" from the Russian confirms Lightfoot's emendation συνομιλους for the unmetrical συνομηγύρους of the Mss.

V. 12: The Russian version omits the translation of Πίστις. For the discussion of this point, see p. 280.

V. 15: Instead of ἐσθίειν Lüdtke gives from the Russian version "in confessionem". For the probable meaning of this, see p. 288.

V. 18: εἶχον (?) ἀριθμόν. So the Russian version, improving on the ἡγον ἀληθῶς of the Mss.

cius am I by name, disciple of the holy shepherd who feeds his flocks on mountains and plains, who has great eyes that see all things. He it was who taught me the faithful scriptures who sent me to Rome to view (?) her sovereign majesty (?), and to see the queen of the golden robe and the golden sandals. And there I saw the people that have the gleaming seal. And the plain of Syria I saw, and passed through all the cities, having crossed the Euphrates. Everywhere I had companions, Paul Faith was everywhere my guide and ever laid before me food, the Fish from the Fountain, the very great, the pure, which the holy virgin seized. And this she ever gave to the friends to eat (?), having a goodly wine and giving it mixed with water, and bread also. These things I Abercius in person commanded to be written here; I numbered my seventy-second year. Let every brother who understands these things pray for Abercius. No one shall lay another in my tomb; otherwise he shall pay to the Roman treasury two thousand pieces of gold, and to my good city of Hieropolis a thousand".

It is clear that the author of this epitaph was a lover of the mystic, shrouding his thoughts in vague expressions significant only to the initiated. His point of view is indicated by the phrase "every brother who understands this". But in spite of the intentional obscurity and other difficulties in the way of interpretation, the language of the epitaph at once suggests Christianity. The adjective *ἐκλεκτός* is so rare outside of ecclesiastical or biblical writing as to be almost a characteristically Christian word. The holy Shepherd and the faithful Scripture are Christian images; "seal" is a word fairly frequent with reference to baptism. The companions whom Abercius found everywhere in his travels are evidently co-religionists. Faith was his guide, a "Paul" is mentioned, his food was the fish, in connection with which we hear of the eucharistic bread and wine. Lastly the companions of his mystic faith are asked to pray for him.

Consequently, after its authenticity had been proved by Ramsay's finds, no one thought of questioning the Chris-

tianity of the epitaph and it was re-edited as the most important of Christian inscriptions by Lightfoot, De Rossi, Zahn and others.⁶ The first scholar to propose a pagan inspiration for the epitaph was Ficker, whose memoir "*Der heidnische Charakter der Abercius-Inschrift*" was read by Harnack before the Berlin Academy in February, 1894.⁷ Ficker's theory consists of an attempt to reconcile the language of the epitaph to the hypothesis that Abercius was a worshipper of Cybele. To him the "holy shepherd" is Attis, the "king" (reading βασιλῆα instead of βασιλείαν in v. 7) is Zeus, the queen the Magna Mater, whom Ficker somewhat laboriously assimilates with Atergatis-Derketo. The fish, which the holy virgin placed before the "friends" as food, is obviously his greatest difficulty, and for this he has recourse to the tale of Attis' rescue by the Mater from the waters of the river Gallus, and another story according to which he was withdrawn by the goddess from the embraces of a water-nymph. These two incidents, and the supposed assimilation of Attis to a putative fish-god figuring in the cult of Atergatis, form a sufficient basis in Ficker's opinion for the qualification of Attis as the "fish".

Ficker's ingenious disposal of the fish aroused the wit of Mgr. Duchesne,⁸ who refers to the somewhat similar case of Moses and Pharaoh's daughter, pointing out that Moses nevertheless escaped the title of "fish". "Besides", continues Duchesne, "among the abstinences imposed upon the devotees of Cybele, one of the best attested is the prohibition of fish. This is quite analogous to the abstinence from pork for Jews and Mohammedans. Can one imagine a Jewish epitaph in which the defunct would congratulate himself for having eaten ham in his various travels?"

⁶ Lightfoot: *The Apostolical Fathers*, Part II, vol. I, pp. 478-485 (2nd ed., pp. 492-501). De Rossi: *Inscriptiones christianae Urbis Romae*, II, pp. XII-XXIV. Zahn: *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, V, pp. 57-99.

⁷ Published in *Sitzungsber. der k. preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1894, pp. 87-112.

⁸ *Bull. critique*, 1894, p. 117.

On the other hand, Hirschfeld⁹ brought to the support of Ficker's theory a new rendering of *λαον* in v. 9, which he interpreted as a metaplastic form of the accusative of *λᾶς* "stone". Hirschfeld identified this "stone" with the famous sacred stone, revered as an image of the Magna Mater, which was brought to Rome from Pessinus in 204 B.C., and thereafter preserved on the Palatine. There next appeared a series of articles in refutation of Ficker's theory by Marucchi, Schultze, and Kraus,¹⁰ and finally Harnack's monograph "Zur Abercius-Inschrift", published in *Texte und Untersuchungen* (XII, 1895). In this Harnack produces a modification of Ficker's theory, arguing that the inconsistencies of the epitaph are at least sufficient to make improbable a purely Christian inspiration for it. He suggests therefore that the inscription is the product of a syncretistic cult, and particularly of the kind which he believes is reflected in the story of the Hera-temple in the *Narratio* (cf. the preceding section in this REVIEW, 1910, pp. 426 ff.).

Harnack argues that the story in the *Narratio* identifies Helios with God the Father, as well as Mary with Hera. Hera, i.e., Heaven, Fountain or Mary, conceives by Helios the Fish which feeds the world with his flesh. The striking parallel to the epitaph is found not only in Hera-Mary and the Fish, but also in the epithet "Fountain" given to Mary, and the "starry stone" in the diadem of Hera, which is presented as a regular attribute of the goddess. So also the Abercius-epitaph commences with an all-seeing god, after which we hear of the King and Queen of heaven. After mentioning the last-named, who may be identified either with Hera or with the Magna Mater confused with her, the inscription tells us of a *λαον* "having a gleaming seal". If now we accept Hirschfeld's conjecture that *λαον* in this case means "stone" (i. e., the cult-image of the god-

⁹ *Sitzungsber. der k. preuss. Akad.*, 1894, p. 213.

¹⁰ Marucchi in *N. Bull. d'arch. crist.*, 1895, pp. 1-41. Schultze in *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1894, (May 11 and July 27). Kraus in *Christliche Archäologie* 1893-1894 (Reprinted from *Rep. f. Kunstwiss.*, XVIII Bd., 1 Heft, p. 19).

dess), the "starry stone" of the diadem of Hera in the *Narratio* finds a parallel in the "stone with the gleaming seal" of the epitaph, considered as a statue of the *Magna Mater* (= Hera), adorned with some kind of a jewel. Lastly we have in both cases the "Fish from the Fountain", and by comparison with the *Narratio* Harnack concludes that by "fountain" Abercius meant the "holy virgin" of the following line, *i. e.*, the virgin Mother, in the sense of the "virgin Spirit" (as the Holy Ghost is conceived in some gnostic systems), the true heavenly Mary.

Harnack's article called forth a reply from Duchesne which is perhaps the strongest argument for the Christianity of the epitaph that has yet appeared.¹¹ Duchesne emphasizes the fact that the author of the "Life" believed the tomb to be that of a Christian, and of a Christian bishop, which shows that the Christian interpretation at least has the support of tradition. The anonymous letter quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* V. 16) proves that in the latter part of the second century, the traditional lifetime of Abercius, there lived in the neighborhood of Hieropolis three Christian priests or bishops, one of whom was named Avircius or Abercius and seems to have been superior in rank to the other two. The rest of Duchesne's article, aside from a résumé of the obvious signs of Christianity in the inscription, is a detailed reply to the arguments advanced by Harnack against a purely Christian inspiration for the epitaph. The form of the tombstone, which Harnack regards as pagan, can be duplicated, Duchesne shows, among Christian monuments. Abercius' qualification of himself as "citizen of a distinguished city", a sentiment which Harnack thinks too worldly for a Christian, is held by Duchesne to be not inconsistent with Christian usage and indeed can hardly be considered a serious argument. The penalty threatened for violation of the tomb may be found on other Christian epitaphs. The epithet *ἀγνός* and the "mountains and plains" on which the shep-

¹¹ L'Építaphe d'Abercius, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.*, 1895, pp. 154-182.

herd pastures his sheep are hardly proofs that the deity referred to is pagan, for they are applicable to the Christian Good Shepherd, and at all events easily explained as poetic phrases or chosen for merely metrical reasons. Harnack's "King and Queen" is an unjustifiable assumption, for the stone gives only βασιλ, not βασιλη . . . and our only guide to the correct restoration of the word is the manuscript reading βασιλειαν.¹² Λαος = stone is dismissed by Duchesne as bad philology, and the suggestion that the "gleaming seal" may refer to a jewel which ornamented the "stone", i.e., the idol of the Magna Mater, is characterized as a mere guess. Duchesne defends the reading Πίστις, questioned by Harnack, on the ground that . . ΣΤΙΣ is certain, and the two vertical strokes in front of these letters admit of no other restoration than ΠΙ. The Christianity of the rest of the inscription scarcely needs demonstration. If "Paul" is not the Christian apostle it is hard to see who he may be. The fish-symbolism is clear. Ἀπὸ πηγῆς offers no more difficulty in interpretation than any other picturesque epithet. With reference to the *Narratio*, Duchesne points out that the single certain parallel to the imagery of the Abercius-epitaph that can be found in this text is the "Fountain", and that after all the "holy virgin" is *not* identified with the "Fountain" in the epitaph, as in the story.

Wilpert, in his chapter on the Abercius-inscription in *Fractio Panis*, repeats for the most part the arguments of Duchesne. But he also shows that the pasturing shepherd of the epitaph would be readily understood by the Christian as the secondary, or "pasturing type" of the Good Shepherd which often occurs in early Christian art. Wilpert also,

¹² Here may be mentioned Wehofer's attempt (*Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1896, pp. 61 and 351) to show that the first part of the epitaph is to be understood literally in the sense in which it was taken by the author of the "Life", i. e., that Abercius went to Rome to see the emperor and empress, or the empress and "princess". This notion has found no favor because the language of the epitaph is so evidently symbolic throughout, and not in the latter part only, as Wehofer maintains.

after a very careful examination of the stone, regards the reading Πίστις as certain, giving as his reason that one of the two vertical strokes before the letters ΣΤΙΣ must be an I and the other corresponds exactly to the second leg of the Π directly above it in the preceding line.

The last attack on the Christianity of the inscription was made by Dieterich, in his monograph *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios* (Leipzig, 1896). Dieterich undertakes to show that the epitaph of Alexander is earlier in date than that of Abercius. Robert¹³ had already pointed out that the central portion of the Abercius-inscription, being inscribed on the side of the stone, must be an addition to the epitaph proper (*i.e.*, the opening and closing lines corresponding to the Alexander-epitaph) which is inscribed in the customary fashion on the front and back of the stone. Even supposing therefore that Alexander copied the original Abercius-epitaph on his own tombstone, the central portion of the former might still be considerably later than 216, the date of the Alexander-inscription. But Dieterich maintains, contrary to the usual assumption, that Abercius copied from Alexander. He bases this conclusion on certain violations of metre in vv. 1-3 and 20-22 in the Abercius-inscription, *e.g.*, the ἑτέρον ἐπάνω θήσειε of v. 20, an unmetrical phrase which he regards as an awkward innovation on Alexander's ἑτέρον τινα θήσει.

Dieterich thus arrives at a date subsequent to 216 for the Abercius-epitaph. This is important for his thesis, for he next proceeds to connect the inscription with an event in the reign of the Emperor Elagabalus, which lasted from 218 to 222. This event is the mystic marriage of the sun-god Elagabal with the Dea Caelestis of Carthage, celebrated with great pomp by the Emperor above mentioned, as part of his programme for assimilating the old religions to the cult of the Sun. It was this ceremony, according to Dieterich, that Abercius was "sent to Rome to see". Accepting Ficker's identification of the shepherd of verses 3-6 with

¹³ *Hermes*, 1894, pp. 427ff.

Attis, Dieterich explains that Abercius was a priest or devotee of this divinity, and went to Rome as a kind of delegate from the Attis-worshippers of Hieropolis to the divine marriage. The *λαον* of v. 9 is the stone idol which represented the god on this occasion and the "gleaming seal" refers to the jewelled decorations of the image. Instead of *Πίστις* in v.8, Dieterich reads *Νήστις* *i.e.*, Nestis, goddess of water and patroness of fasting, under whose guidance Abercius fasted on his journey, eating only fish and bread and wine. But he ate particularly the "great and pure" fish, *i.e.*, the fish sacred to a divinity (Attis in this case), which could only be caught by a priestess (the "holy virgin" of v. 13). This in the main is Dieterich's interpretation of the epitaph, divested of the impressive mass of evidence which he brings to the support of his curious theory.

Dieterich's interpretation was enthusiastically accepted by Salomon Reinach,¹⁴ and rejected by Duchesne¹⁵ and Cumont.¹⁶ The controversy, however, has had little further development, and no new arguments have been advanced by either side. The general impression that has been left upon the learned world is, I think, that the "pagan" case has not been proved. But here and there one finds the contrary opinion,¹⁷ and it may be said that the discussion has at least had the effect of somewhat impairing the credit of the epitaph as a Christian monument. There is no good reason for this suspicion, as I think can be made clear by an analysis of the essential evidence on which the attacks of Ficker, Harnack and Dieterich are based.

In the first place, Dieterich's premise that the epitaph must be later than that of Alexander is unjustified. It is true that such phrases as *ἕτερον ἐπάνω θήσκει* in v.20 of

¹⁴ *Rev. critique*, 1896, p. 447.

¹⁵ *Rev. critique*, 1897, p. 101.

¹⁶ *Rev. de l'instruction publ. en Belgique*, 1897, p. 89.

¹⁷ Compare for example Domaszewski in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, XI, 1905, pp. 226ff. and 236ff., and Hending's *Attis (Religionsgesch. Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, herausg. v. A. Dieterich & R. Wunsch, I Bd., Giessen, 1903) p. 188.

the Abercius-epitaph have the aspect of distortions of an earlier model which was metrically correct. But the same may be said of v.3 in the Alexander-epitaph, where the insertion of the filiation *Ἀντωνίου* spoils the metre in similar fashion. It is quite possible that neither was copied from the other but that both are adaptations of a common model, *viz.*, a stereotyped set of sepulchral verses current among the members of the cult to which Alexander and Abercius both belonged.¹⁸ It is consequently useless, in view of this possibility, to attempt by such means to date the epitaph of Abercius very closely. Considering its similarity to the epitaph of Alexander, it is safe to say that it was not composed later than the middle of the third century. But there is no reason on the other hand why it should not belong to the end of the second. In other words, so far as surface indications show, the epitaph of Abercius may be dated between 150 and 250, *circa*.¹⁹ We shall see later that when considered in its relation to the development of the fish-symbolism, the date of the inscription is capable of closer definition.

Second, all three of the writers above-mentioned have taken unwarranted liberties with the text of the inscription. For instance, they read *βασιλη* . . . in v.7 and translate "king". Ficker uses the reading to bring Zeus (the "king") into connection with the Magna Mater (the "queen" of the next verse), a combination, by the way, which is pronounced improbable both by Robert and Dieterich.²⁰ Harnack uses the same reading in support of his parallel between the *Nar-ratio* and the epitaph, the "king" in this case being Helios. Dieterich uses it again to mean the sun-god Elagabal. All

¹⁸ This is suggested by Dieterich himself, *op. cit.*, p. 19, note 1: "That the formula was not used for the first time in the inscription of Alexander appears to be shown by the fact that in this also the name does not fit the verse".

¹⁹ The palaeography of Greek inscriptions is an unsafe guide to date in the imperial period. This should be noted with reference to Lecerq's argument (s. v. *Abercius* in Cabrol's *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de la liturgie*, col. 77) that the "antique" form of some of the letters in the Abercius-epitaph shows that it is earlier than that of Alexander.

²⁰ Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 428. Dieterich, *op. cit.*, p. 27, note 2.

three writers refer to Ramsay's copy,²¹ where in fact one reads ΒΑΣ. ΔΗ.. But it has been pointed out again and again that Ramsay made a mistake in his copy, for there is not a trace of the Η on the stone, and the fracture at this point is an ancient one, so that the piece supposed to have contained the Η cannot have been broken off since Ramsay saw the inscription. In restoring the word, therefore, we have no other course than to follow the manuscripts. These are unanimous in giving βασιλειαν, of which "sovereign majesty" seems to be the only possible rendering.

Another stumbling-block has been the Πίστις of v. 12, with its peculiarly Christian connection. The stone gives .. ΣΤΙΣ preceded by two vertical strokes. Ficker suggested that the fragmentary word concealed "some name of Cybele". Harnack exerted himself to show that the restoration Πίστις was inconceivable. Dieterich read ΝΗΣΤΙΣ, which is quite impossible, for the diagonal of the Ν does not appear on the stone, and enough of the original surface is left to show it if it existed. My own examination of the stone has convinced me that Duchesne and Wilpert are right in regarding ΠΙΣΤΙΣ as the only reasonable restoration. Lastly, we have again the testimony of the manuscripts in favor of the reading, unanimous with the single exception of the Russian version, which after all only omits the word and reads nothing in its place.

It was Hirschfeld's rendering of λαον in v. 9 as "stone" that furnished the real foundation for the theories of Harnack and Dieterich and gave a new lease of life to Ficker's. Yet this rendering rests on the slenderest of philological grounds. Hirschfeld could only cite Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 196, where the manuscripts give the genitive λάου used in this sense, and only one later writer, namely Hyginus, *Fab.*, 153: "ob eam rem laos dictus. laos enim graece lapis dicitur". In both cases the form is disputed, some editors emending to λᾶος in the Sophocles passage, and to "laas" in Hyginus. Dieterich, it is true, adds another

²¹ *Jour. Hell. Studies*, 1883, p. 424.

citation from Apollodorus (I. 7. 2.), in which, however, he finds it necessary to emend *λᾶας* to *λᾶος*!!

Lastly the Fish of vv. 13 and 14 has defied reconciliation with the "pagan" interpretations. Ficker's attempt to connect it with the Attis-Cybele cult is such an inconsequent chain of conjectures that it deserves no further comment than the witticisms of Duchesne. Dieterich's parallels of the eating of sacred fish in pagan cults is a more serious argument and his citations amount to a valuable bibliography on the sacred fish of antiquity. But the fatal weakness of such parallels lies in the fact that one of the few things that we know for certain concerning the eating of fish in cults like that of Attis and Derketo is that, while in some cases permitted to priests, it was strictly forbidden to the ordinary worshipper. This is in striking contrast to the case in the Abercius-epitaph, where the fish is given "to the *friends*".

Moreover, between the sacred fish of paganism, consecrated to a divinity, and *the* "very great and pure" Fish of the Abercius-epitaph, there is an appreciable difference. We can do no better than to quote Harnack on this point.²² "The purely pagan character of the Abercius-inscription would be certain if we had *Ἰχθύς* without the additional *πανμεγέθης* and *ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος ἀγνή*. In this case one would necessarily think of pagan sacral feasts (fish, wine, bread). But the above mentioned qualification makes it very improbable that these are a sufficient explanation. The *one* (*εἰς μῖνος* is the epithet in Philippus Sidetes) *very great* pure fish, which the holy virgin caught and with which the *φίλοι* are ever fed, can hardly be a real fish, but must be understood as a symbol. So far as I know, however, in the accounts of sacred fish in antiquity there is never mention of "*the* fish", at least as holy food, while "the one pure fish", as (spiritual) food, can be paralleled by dozens of Christian examples. It is still possible that this fish will yet be discovered in paganism, but for

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 27, 6

the time being we cannot otherwise conclude than that in all probability it is the Christ-mystery that is contained in the 'Ιχθύς.'

The burden of proof has always been and will always be upon the opponents of the Christian interpretation. The latter, as Wehofer says, is the only one that is half-way consistent with the text. The objections to it were put in their strongest form by Harnack, and I think that all were fairly met and disposed of by Duchesne. There are difficulties, indeed, such as the βασιλειαν of v. 7, whose translation "sovereign majesty" does not sound too convincing. But the text of the epitaph as it stands is consistent as a whole with Christianity, and is not consistent with any other cult hitherto suggested. The general feeling among scholars with reference to the inscription is I think expressed by Paton, when he says²³ that the attempts to disprove its Christianity have "conspicuously failed".

In the Pectorius-inscription we at least have a monument whose Christianity has never been seriously questioned.²⁴ This epitaph was found near Autun in 1839 and is now in the museum of that city. A photogravure may be found in Leclercq's article "Autun" in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire des antiquités chrétiennes*. The text reproduced below is taken from the edition of O. Pohl, whose monograph, *Das Ichthys-Monument von Autun* (Berlin, 1880) is generally recognized as having settled the questions of reading, so far as this is possible.

Ἰ χθύς ο[ὐρανίου θε]ῖον γένος, ἥτορι σεμνῶ

Χ ρῆσε, λαβὼ[ν (sic) πηγῇ]ν ἄμβροτον ἐν βροτέοις

Θ εσπεσίῳν ὑδάτ[ω]ν. τὴν σὴν, φίλε, θάλπεο ψυχ[ὴν]

Ἦ δασιν ἀενάοις πλουτοδότου σοφίης.

5 Σ ωτήρος ἀγίων μελιθεῖα λάμβαν[ε βρώσιν],
ἔσθιε πινάων, ἰχθὺν ἔχων παλάμαις.

²³ *Rev. arch.*, VIII, 1906, 2, pp. 93-96.

²⁴ The attempt of G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1906, pp. 210-212 to relate the inscription to a pagan or syncretistic cult is refuted by Dölger, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1910, pp. 76ff.

ἰχθυῖ χό[ρταζ'] ἄρα, λιλαίω, δέσποτα σῶτερ.
 εὖ εὔδοι μ[ή]τηρ, σὲ λιτάζομε, φῶς τὸ θανόντων.
 Ἀσχάνδιε [πάτ]ερ, τῶμῳ κε[χα]ρισμένε θυμῷ,
 σὺν μ[ητρὶ γλυκερῇ καὶ ἀδελφει] οἷσιν ἐμοῖσιν,
 ἰ[χθύος εἰρήνῃ σέο]μνήσσο Πεκτορίου.

The translation follows: "Divine race of the heavenly fish, keep thy heart holy, since thou hast received among mortals the immortal fountain of divine water. Cheer thy soul, O friend, with the everflowing water of wisdom, dispenser of riches. Take the honey-sweet food of the Saviour of the saints, eat it with desire, holding the Fish in thy hands.

Fill thou (me) with the Fish,—this is my longing, O my Lord and Saviour! Soft may my mother sleep, I beseech thee, O light of the dead! Aschandius, my father, beloved of my heart, together with the dear mother and my brothers, in the peace of the Fish remember thy Pectorius".

The inscription has been variously dated from the second to the sixth century. The letters bear some resemblance to the bilingual epitaph of Sextus Varius Márcellus, the father of Elagabalus (*C. I. L. X.* 6569), but conclusions based on the palaeography of Greek inscriptions of the empire are notoriously unsafe. The word *ἁγίων* "saints" in v. 5 savors of the apostolic age. On the other hand *λιλαίω* (v. 6, for *λιλαίωμαί*), and the forms *μνήσσο* and *Πεκτορίου* are abnormalities betraying an age of decadence. Pohl cites Irenaeus' use of the eucharist in connection with his doctrine of the resurrection as an indication of the date of the epitaph, seeing in the eucharistic imagery of the poem a reflection of Irenaeus' teachings. An objection to this lies in the absence of any allusion to resurrection alongside of the eucharistic symbolism, which we would expect if the verses were inspired by Irenaeus. It is not an answer to this to say that the mere use of the verses on a tombstone in itself introduces the complementary reference to the resurrection, for it is not certain that the first part of the inscription, which contains the

major portion of the eucharistic imagery, was originally composed for an epitaph.

It has long been noticed, in fact, that the inscription naturally divides into two parts, *viz.*, vv. 1-6, and vv. 7-11. The first part is made up of distichs, the second of hexameters. The language and versification of Part I is good, while Part II contains the abnormal forms noted before. The content, too, is different, the first part being addressed to Christians in general, the second having particular reference to Pectorius and his family.

Part I, being obviously extraneous to the epitaph proper, must be derived from some other source, and many conjectures have been made as to its nature. Pohl²⁵ thinks that it is an old liturgical formula. V. Schultze²⁶ suggests an early hymn. Achelis²⁷ classifies the piece with the Sibylline Oracles.

The date of this earlier portion of the epitaph is also a matter of conjecture. Pohl's comparison with the eucharistic resurrection-teaching of Irenæus is not decisive for the reason given above. The mystic expressions which make one think of the early *disciplina arcana* are of little use in point of date, for the same sort of expressions, as Dölger points out,²⁸ is used in the fourth century as well as in the second. An indication of early origin is indeed given by the word *ἀγίων* of v. 5. But evidence on which to base a decisive judgment has hitherto been lacking. To date the first part of the Pectorius-inscription, as well as the Abercius-epitaph, we must define the position of each monument in the development of the fish-symbolism.

The fish-symbolism of the Pectorius-inscription is of course mainly eucharistic. This is recognized even by the advocates of "baptismal" theories, as Dölger and Achelis. The latter says:²⁹ "Only baptism can be understood in

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

²⁶ *Die Katakomben*, p. 119.

²⁷ *Symbol des Fisches*, p. 28.

²⁸ *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1909, p. 14.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

πηγή ἄμβροτος θεσπεσίων ὑδάτων The same fountain has also the significance of the *πλουτόδοτος σοφία*, i. e., the Word of God or the like; it flows not once only for the Christian, but has ὕδατα ἀέναα. The fish, however, is the *μεληδὺς βρώσις* of the Christians in the Eucharist, as in the Abercius-epitaph. We have therefore in the image of water and fish not only an epitome of both sacraments, baptism and eucharist, but all the divine influences in the Christian faith are included by the secondary allusion of the water to the *πλουτόδοτος σοφία* It is a question whether the treatment of the water which obtains here is to be understood as a transformation of the original symbolism, which recognized therein the baptism of Christ, or as an independent addition on the part of the poet, who was apparently acquainted with the significance of the acrostic, and certainly with the eucharistic meaning (of the fish). I am inclined to the latter alternative".

We need add little to this analysis of the symbolism of Part I, save to emphasize the fact that the only traditional meaning indicated by the text is the eucharistic one. The baptismal imagery is entirely separate from the fish, which is characterized solely by expressions significant of the Lord's Supper, e. g., "the honey-sweet food . . . eat . . . holding the Fish in thy hands". The secondary allusion to the acrostic is introduced by the selection of the letters I. X. Θ. Τ. Σ. as the initials of the first five verses, and the fifth word of the acrostic formula is actually used in verse 5: Σωτήρως. We may also detect a tendency to use the fish as an independent symbol in the opening phrase: "Divine race of the heavenly Fish". This fact and the allusion to the acrostic show that Part I of the Pectorius-inscription is later than the invention of the Ἰχθύς-formula, which seems to have been devised towards the end of the second century. On the other hand, it is not likely that the distichs were composed later than the third century. It is true that the eucharistic fish-symbolism is in itself no proof of this, for we have seen that it survives in Augustine and

the *Narratio* (see preceding section in this *Review*, 1910, p. 431), and we shall have occasion to remark upon still later instances of its use. But the acrostic is here used as in Tertullian, *i. e.*, with no explanation, assuming the reader's knowledge of its meaning. This points to the period of its early diffusion and popularity, before its significance had been so obscured as to necessitate explanation, as is the case in its use by the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. It seems necessary therefore to accept the third century as the approximate date of the first part of the Pectorius-inscription.

In the Abercius-epitaph the fish-symbolism is contained in vv. 12-16: "Faith was everywhere my guide and ever laid before me food, the Fish from the fountain, the very great, the pure, which the holy virgin seized. And this she ever gave to the friends to eat (?), having a goodly wine and giving it mixed with water, and bread also".

There are two obscure points in the passage, namely the phrases ἀπὸ πηγῆς "from the fountain" and ὃν ἐδράξατο παρθένος ἁγνή "which the holy virgin seized". The first phrase is of course given a baptismal allusion by Achelis: "the expression ἰχθὺς ἀπὸ πηγῆς, which contains a clear allusion to the baptism of Christ in Jordan, and again shows us what interest was taken in this phase of the symbolism". Dölger also³⁰ interprets the "fountain" in the sense of baptism, but with reference to the sacrament and not to the baptism of Christ. Duchesne says: "πηγή est ici pour la même raison que, plus haut, ἁγνός est joint à ποιμήν, parce qu' il fait mieux le vers".

Dölger explains the passage as a whole as follows: "Christ is the Fish from the fountain, which is seized by the παρθένος ἁγνή, the Church, in the baptism of Christ in Jordan and in the baptism of the individual believers, that she may thereafter offer Him to her members (φίλοις) as food and drink". From this one sees that he regards the baptismal significance as primitive and the eucharistic

³⁰ Röm. Quartalschrift, 1909, pp. 87ff.

meaning as a later addition. The doctrine of the presence of the Logos in baptism, with whom the believer was endowed by the rite, was according to Dölger the source of the characterization of Christ as the Fish (see preceding section in this *Review*, 1910, p. 405). The language of Abercius' epitaph is adduced in proof of this: "the Fish (the Logos) from the fountain (baptism), which the holy Virgin (*i. e.*, the Church, generalized from the individual believer) seized (was endowed with)".

This explanation offers considerable difficulty, and chiefly from the doubtful character of the equation $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$ = baptism. The examples which Dölger cites to show that $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$ "meant baptism already in the second century" demonstrate indeed such a figurative use of the word, but it is always in such case accompanied by explanatory phrases, *e. g.*, "waters of the immortal fountain", "the everlasting fountain of repentance", the "fountain of living flowing water" etc. It is to be questioned if even the mysticism of Abercius would have employed the word in the sense of baptism without some such qualification.

As regards the "holy virgin", I think that Dölger has succeeded in showing that by this phrase we are to understand the Church, rather than Mary, as Wilpert takes it.³¹ But to make probable Dölger's interpretation of the rest of the image, *i. e.*, that the Church receives the Logos from baptism, there should be a closer connection of $\epsilon\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\tau\omicron$ with $\alpha\pi\omicron\delta \pi\eta\gamma\eta\varsigma$, assuming for the purposes of argument that $\pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}$ can mean "baptism". The Church should "seize the Fish *from* the fountain". As a matter of fact, the phrase "from the fountain" appears disconnected from the verb, being separated not only textually by the adjectives $\pi\alpha\nu\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta, \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$ "the very great, the pure", but also by the general sense of the passage. "From the fountain" therefore qualifies the fish, not the verb, and may well be,

³¹ *Prinzipienfragen der chr. Archäologie*, p. 59. Paton's (*Rev. arch.*, 1906, 2, pp. 93-96) explanation of the phrase as referring to the $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ of v. 12 is not really in conflict with Dölger's, as he assumes the sense of "Church" in $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$.

as Duchesne says, a poetic phrase introduced to serve the metre.

Dölger's interpretation thus rests on a doubtful meaning ascribed to *πηγή*, and a connection between this word and "seized" which the text does not bear out. Moreover, even if his explanation be accepted, the eucharistic symbolism can hardly be regarded as secondary. The reverse is rather the case, for the eucharistic notion is stamped on the fish at its very introduction by the *τροφήν* "food" of v. 13, while the baptismal symbolism supposed by Dölger would have the appearance of a secondary meaning suggested by the fish itself. Certainly the eucharistic symbolism is the prominent note.

The symbolism of the Abercius-epitaph presents the fish in a more primitive aspect than the Pectorius-inscription. For here the allusion to the acrostic is lacking and we have only the early eucharistic meaning attached to the symbol. It is to be noted also that the fish is brought into connection with the bread and wine: "and this (the Fish) she gave to the friends (to eat ?) without ceasing, having a goodly wine, and giving it mixed with water, and bread also". This curious addition has the effect of explaining what the fish stands for. It is not unlikely that in the original inscription a phrase stood in place of *ἐσθίειν* "to eat" in v. 15 which emphasized this relation. For the Russian translator found no *ἐσθίειν* in the recension from which he drew, but a phrase beginning with the preposition *ἐς* which Lüdtké renders from the Russian with "in confessionem". The Armenian version published by Conybeare³² confirms the existence of the phrase and clarifies its meaning. His translation reads: "gave to the loved ones to eat as a symbol (or parable)". It would seem therefore that in this phrase of the Abercius-epitaph we get a glimpse of the primitive point of attachment of the fish to the Eucharist, in that it was originally connected, not so much with

³² *Class Rev.*, 1895, pp. 295-297.

Christ, even in His eucharistic aspect, as with the material elements of the sacrament, the bread and wine.

The symbol in Abercius' time was already near to being used as an independent type of Christ, as is shown by the adjectives "very great" and "pure" which are applied to the Fish. But the primitive character of the eucharistic symbolism points still to an early period of its evolution, and combined with the negative evidence afforded by the absence of any allusion to the acrostic, makes it altogether probable that the Abercius-epitaph antedates 200. There is therefore no reason to doubt the identification of our Abercius with the Avircius Marcellus mentioned in Eusebius.

The Pectorius-inscription represents a stage in the development of the fish-symbolism in which the fish had become, with the help of the acrostic, an independent symbol of Christ, retaining however the strong imprint of its original eucharistic meaning. The Abercius-epitaph carries us back to an earlier stage, when the use of the symbolic equation fish = Christ was not thought of except in connection with the Eucharist, and gives us a clew to the original connection of the fish with the Lord's Supper, in that it seems to have been associated in some way with the material elements of the sacrament. To follow up this clew with the help of the archaeological evidence will be the task of future papers.

(To be continued)

Rome, November, 1910.

C. R. MOREY.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTE

JALABERT'S "ÉPIGRAPHIE" AND THE PROCONSULSHIP OF GALLIO.¹

The kindness of Dr. R. E. Brünnow has made it possible for me to give an account of an article on "Épigraphie" by Père L. Jalabert, S. J. in the *Dict. apol. de la Foi catholique* now in course of publication. The article possesses the lucidity so uniformly characteristic of French writers. It is concise in form, broad in conception, and rich in content and bibliographical information. Its historical method and the treatment of its theme with especial reference to the New Testament and the early Church make it unusually interesting and valuable to Biblical students. The discussion and bibliography alike disclose the author's mastery of his subject and its Biblical relations; they reveal also his command of the literature, his insight into current Biblical questions and his skill in presenting the more important epigraphical data which bear on their solution.

The first part of the article discusses Christian inscriptions. In comparison with pagan inscriptions, which are estimated at 300,000, the Christian amount only to about 45,000 or 50,000, of which about 30,000 come from Rome alone. The pagan texts cover a period of from 8 to 9 centuries; the Christian (neglecting the Byzantine) a period of from 4 to 5 centuries (2nd to 7th). The explanation of this is found in the persecutions of the Christians, in their poverty and humble station, and in their spiritual conceptions; but account must be taken also of the probability that early Christian inscriptions were frequently cryptic in form and scarcely distinguishable from those of pagan origin. The explicit mention of Christian faith on tombs (*χρηστιανός*) appears relatively late (end of the 3rd century; cf. col. 1408), and the presence of designations such as *πρεσβύτεροι*, *ἐπίσκοποι* or *ἀδελφοί* is not always indicative of Christian origin.

¹ *Épigraphie*. Par L. Jalabert. Extrait du *Dictionnaire apologétique de la Foi catholique*. Publié sous la direction de M. Adhémar d'Alès. Tome 1er, col. 1404-1457. Paris. Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie. 1910.

The Christian inscriptions come from an extensive area including the world about the Mediterranean,—from Mesopotamia and the Arabian desert to the cataracts of the Nile and the African boundary on the west, and from the Euphrates through Armenia and southern Russia, passing around the Black Sea and along the Danube to the Rhine, and extending to Britain, Gaul and Spain (col. 1409). Early inscriptions are few,—at Rome for instance, a fragment from the 1st century, two inscriptions from the 2nd century, 23 from the 3rd, and 206 from the first three quarters of the 4th century (col. 1410). The method of dating the inscriptions, where this is not fixed by reference to some era or other system of reckoning, is determined by considerations based upon the form of engraving, the style and contents, and especially the presence of Christian symbols such as the “anchor”, “monogram”, “dove”, “vase”, “fish”, or “cross” in different forms. It is known for instance that the “anchor” is one of the most ancient Christian symbols in Gaul; the “dove” appears in 378 and disappears about 631;² the “fish” is used from 474 to 631; the “cross” in epitaphs from 448 till shortly after 585 (col. 1411). Some of the early crypto-Christian inscriptions reveal the influence of pagan formulas either unchanged as in *Dis Manibus*,³ or with some modification as in the addition of ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ to οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος (col. 1412).⁴

The second part of the article treats of the apologetical value of the inscriptions in relation to the New Testament and the Church. Here, as is natural, the discussion is not confined to the Christian inscriptions but includes epigraphical evidence from any source whatever that contributes to the elucidation of the textual, linguistic and historical phenomena of the New

²Le Blant, *Épigr. chrét. en Gaule, etc.*, p. 22 gives 612.

³Cf. also *Spic. Solesm.* iii. pp. 551f; N. Müller, *Herzog-Realencyklopädie*, ix. p. 177; K. Künstle, *Theol. Quartalschr.*, 1885, p. 446 where seven instances of this usage in the inscriptions of North Africa from the 3rd to the 5th century are cited (*CIL.* viii. 9815, 181, 674, 673, 5191, 5193, 5394) and also the following forms which are interesting in this connection,—all from *CIL.* viii.—*fecerunt domum eternalem*, pp. 77, 444, nos. 9896, 9869, 10927, 10930; *sacerdotales*, p. 88 no. 8348; *flamen perpetuus*, no. 450.

⁴Cf. also Prentice, *AAES.* iii. pp. 206f, for the similar addition of ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ[τω] and Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 88 citing *CIL.* viii. 10516 where *christianus* is added to *flamen perpetuus*.

Testament or to a better knowledge of the history of the early Church both in its external relations and in its internal development.

The contribution of inscriptions to the restoration of the original text of the New Testament is important, if somewhat scanty. Its value lies in its freedom from the corruption which is involved in the process of repeated copying. When dated and localized this evidence is useful in the work of reconstructing the history of the text. Here, however, Père Jalabert—usually so careful in his conclusions—seems to go beyond the reasonable inference from the facts. From the existence of three inscriptions of Northern Syria having *εὐδοκία* instead of *εὐδοκίας* he concludes that *εὐδοκία* is the original reading in the *Gloria in Excelsis* of Lk. ii. 14 (col. 1419).⁴ No references and no dates are given for these inscriptions. Of the four inscriptions from Syria containing the *Gloria in Excelsis*, in whole or in part, published by W. K. Prentice none is earlier than the 4th century (*AAES.* iii. pp. 3f). Two contain the reading *εὐδοκία* (*AAES.* iii, 196; *PAES.* iii, 1064) and two, which are fragmentary, do not (*AAES.* iii, 197a, 213). As in the case of the inscriptions from North Africa having *in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*, in agreement with the Vulgate but manifesting also the influence of the Old Latin,⁵ the epigraphical evidence does not decide the question of the original text of the *Gloria in Excelsis*, but it does confirm—which is important—the witness of the other evidence more particularly (as the inscriptions are so late) in regard to the *provenance* of the two readings.

After discussing the contribution of the inscriptions, together with the papyri and the ostraca, to the study of the

⁴ In Père Jalabert's contribution to the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale*, Beyrouth (Syrie), Tom. iii. Fasc. ii. (1909) entitled "Deux Missions archéologiques Américaines en Syrie" the same view is expressed in the words (p. 720): "Généralement ces citations lapidaires sont sans intérêt pour la critique textuelle des livres saints: il faut cependant faire exception pour une inscription d'il-Bârah (no. 196, cf. 197a et 213) qui donne la vraie leçon de Luc 2, 14: *Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας.*" The reading *εὐδοκίας* however is manifestly a typographical error for *εὐδοκία*.

⁵ *CIL.* viii. 10642, 11644 [462?], 16720; cf. Monceaux, *Hist. lit. de l'Afrique chrét.*, i. p. 155; Le Blant *Épigr. chrét. en Gaule, etc.*, p. 112; Diehl, *Lat. christ. Inschr.*, p. 41, no. 218.

language of the New Testament (col. 1421-24), Père Jalabert treats of the epigraphical evidence bearing on certain historical statements in the New Testament (col. 1425ff). Much of this evidence is familiar to students of the New Testament, but Père Jalabert's restatement of it is valuable for its correlation of the references to older collections with those of more recent date, for example: Lk. ii. 1—*CIL.* iii. 6687=Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 2683; *CIL.* xiv. 3613=Dessau, *ILS.* 918; Lk. iii. 1—*CIG.* 4521=Dittenberger, *Orient. Graec. Inscr. Sel.*, 606; cf., *CIG.* 4523=Cagnat, *Inscr. graec. ad res rom. pertin.*, iii, 1085; Acts xiii. 7ff—Cagnat, *IGR.* iii. 930; Acts xviii. 4—Deissmann, *Licht*, p. 8 [Eng. Trans., pp. 13f] [*συνα*] *γαγγή* 'Εβρ [αίων]; Acts xxi. 27-32—Dittenberger, *OGIS.* 598.⁶ Attention is called to the inscriptions bearing on Herod and Agrippa in Dittenberger, *OGIS.* 414-429,⁷ Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. orient.*, vii. 54-76, *CIL.* iii, 14387, *Jahr. d. k. d. arch. Inst.*, xvii. 107. In exposition of Acts xvii, 6-8 reference is made to Michel, *Rec. d'Inscr. grec.*, 1287.⁸

It will not be possible to follow Père Jalabert's discussion of the inscriptions bearing on the history and life of the Church. The Abercius inscription is given and its Christian character defended (col. 1436ff). In this connection the evidence adduced (col. 1415) for the use of professional manuals by engravers, and the consequent reproduction of older material is important. The Pectorius inscription is reproduced (col. 1445) and its relation to the sacraments is discussed. The article concludes with the treatment of the relation of inscriptions to other aspects of the internal development of the Church, and with the bibliography.

THE PROCONSULSHIP OF GALLIO AND THE DELPHI INSCRIPTION.

In Père Jalabert's account of the epigraphical data bearing on the historical statements of the New Testament reference

⁶ The reference to Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 11, 7 (col. 1431) is doubtless a typographical error for *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

⁷ Five of these are published also in *AAES.* iii. — 415 = 427b; 418 = 380; 419 = 428; 422 = 362; 424 = 404 cf. 409.

⁸ This should be supplemented by Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Graec.*² 318 and the indispensable reference to Burton, *Amer. Jour. of Theol.* 1898, 598ff.

is made to an inscription which, although published in 1905, has not yet become well and widely known. As recently as June 9, 1909, Deissmann wrote: "No tablets have yet been found to enable us to date exactly the years of office of the Procurators Felix and Festus or of the Proconsul Gallio, which would settle an important problem of early Christian history, and Christian inscriptions and papyri of the very early period are at present altogether wanting".^{8a} Unusual interest therefore attaches to Père Jalabert's statement (col. 1428): "As an inscription of Delphi (Aem. Bourguet, *De rebus delphicis imperatoriae aetatis*, Montepessulano, 1905, p. 63-64) permits us to establish the fact that Gallio was in office in 52, account must be taken of this datum for the controverted chronology of Paul's journeys". Unfortunately neither the inscription nor the facts upon which the chronological datum is based are given. Mr. Joseph Offord called attention to the relation of this inscription to the date of Gallio's proconsulship in the *Quarterly Statement* of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, for 1908, pp. 163f; C. Clemen made mention of Mr. Offord's note in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1910 (xxv), col. 656; and A. Deissmann, in a brief notice of Père Jalabert's article, has promised something further on the inscription in the near future (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1910 (xxv), col. 796. Neither the review of Bourguet's book by A. J. R. [einach] in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1905 (xviii), pp. 385ff nor that by E. Ziebarth in

^{8a} *Licht von Osten*,² 1909, p. 3; *Light from the Ancient East*, 1910, p. 5. In *The Expository Times* for March (1911), p. 251, Principal James Iverach, in a review of Deissmann's book, quotes this passage and adds: "While this is true with regard to Felix and Festus, it is no longer true about Gallio. In various publications Sir William M. Ramsay has called attention to the inscription found at Delphi, in the French excavations". Specific reference is made only to Ramsay, *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*, p. 207, —which doubtless corresponds to p. 237 of the American edition—where, however, Ramsay does not discuss the inscription but states simply his conclusion that "The time when Gallio governed the province Achaia has been determined by a recent inscription as A. D. 52 (probably from spring 52 to spring 53)". A foot-note concerning the inscription contains merely the statement "Found at Delphi during the French excavations". I regret that I have not seen any other of the "various publications" in which Sir William Ramsay has called attention to the inscription.

the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1907 (xxvii), col. 400ff discusses this inscription. This is true also of the article on "Apôtres [Actes des]" in the *Dictionnaire apol. de la Foi catholique*—to which a cross-reference (col. 268) has been added by the editor to Père Jalabert's article in this connection—and of the reference in Preuschen's *Griech.-Deutsch. Handwörterbuch*, col. 224. Père Jalabert has however been good enough to send me a transcript of the inscription, and I have been able also through the courtesy of the Library of Johns Hopkins University to consult the text of Bourguet. The inscription, together with Bourguet's comments upon it, is as follows (*op. cit.*, pp. 63ff):⁹

"Ab eodem imperatore, sex annis post, missa est ad Delphos epistula cuius initium ex quattuor fragmentis restituere tentaui (nn. 3883, 59, 4001, 2178).

Τιβέ[ριος Κλαύδιος Κ]αῖσ[αρ Σεβαστ]ὸς [Γερμανικός, δημαρχικῆς ἔξου-]
 σίας [τὸ IB, αὐτοκράτωρ τ]ὸ ΚΓ, π[ατὴρ πα]τρίδ[ος]
 πάλ[ιν? τ]ῇ π[όλει τ]ῶν Δελφ[ῶν προθ]υμό[τατα χαίρειν.
 Χ . . ισα ἔ[πε]τήρη[σα τῇ]ν θρησκ[είαν] . . οιαπο
 νῦν λέγεται καὶ τῶν ἔργ εἶναι ω [Λ. 'Ιού-]
 νιος Γαλλίων ὁ [φίλος μ]ου κ[αὶ ἀνθύ]πατος [Ἀχαΐας
 ἔτι ἔξειν τὸν πρ[
 λων πόλεων κα
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρε[. συμ-]
 φώνως πολε
 [τ]αί με τῷ κ
 α]ὐτοῦ

⁹ Translation:

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, in the 12th year of his tribunician power, imperator for the 26th time, father of his country . . . again sends most cordial greetings to the city of Delphi.

.... I observed the worship.....

*is now said and ... of the.... to be L. Iun-
 ius Gallio my friend and proconsul of Achaia ...*

*shall still have the
 ... cities*

*to them in ag-
 reement*

... me

...

I have made but one alteration in Bourguet's text, correcting what

Omnia supplere nequeo, sed duo dignissima sunt quae memoria teneantur, primum imp. Claudium rebus delphicis, etiam si supplementum u.3 πάλ[ιν] non probetur, curiose studuisse nec religioni tantum (θρησκείαν u.4), sed, nisi fallor, terminis quoque et finibus sacri agri (ἄλλων πόλεων, fortasse u. 7 ἐτι ἔξειν τὸν προ[ότερον ὀρισμόν]); deinde eo quod L. Iunii Gallionis, Senecae fratris, procos. Achaiae nomen adfertur atque Claudius imp. XXVI appellatur, hanc fragmentorum compagem confirmari."

Both the 26th and the 27th acclamation of Claudius as "imperator" were received in the year 52 A. D.—the latter sometime before the first of August.¹⁰ The name of Gallio and part of the title proconsul thus occur in an inscription from Delphi which contains in the title of the Emperor Claudius the number 26. This number is referred most naturally to the acclamation as "imperator", and this fixes the date of the inscription in the year 52 and sometime before the first of August. Gallio may therefore have gone to Corinth in the spring or early summer of 51 or 52 and continued in office until the arrival of his successor a year later in 52 or 53.¹¹ Considerations based upon the less specific evidence of the literary sources concerning the career of Seneca and of the Apostle Paul render the latter date the more probable. Heretofore in

seems to be a mere typographical error, by reversing the second half of the first bracket-pair in the third line. The date of the inscription,— "six years after" that of the preceding inscription from 46 A. D.— is 52 A. D. The numbers (3883, etc.) are explained by a note on p. 13: "in catalogo omnium rerum quae Delphis effossae sunt". The fragmentary character of the inscription makes it difficult of interpretation beyond the important fact to which it witnesses, namely, the coincidence of the number 26 in the title of Claudius and the name Gallio with part of his official title. As I have not attempted a further emendation of the text, the rendering which is given is purely formal.

¹⁰ Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*,³ p. 478; Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares*, p. 104; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Ency.*, iii. 2. col. 2813; Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, no. 218.

¹¹ The departure of the proconsuls from Rome for their provinces was fixed by Tiberius before June 1st and by Claudius before April 1st (Dio Cassius, lvii. 14; lx. 11). Their office began with arrival in the provinces and ended with that of a successor, the duration of office being generally, though not universally, one year (Mommson, *Röm. Staatsrecht*,³ ii. 254f; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*,² i. 535, 544 n. 6).

the absence of conclusive evidence the proconsulship of Gallio has generally been assigned to some year between 48 and 54: Harnack,¹² between 48 and 50; Blass,¹³ 50; Turner,¹⁴ not before 44, probably not before 49 or even 50; *Prosopographia*,¹⁵ 52; Clemen,¹⁶ and Ramsay,¹⁷ spring of 52-53; Cowan,¹⁸ 52-53; Anger¹⁹ and Wieseler,²⁰ between 52 and 54; Woodhouse,²¹ about 53; O. Holtzmann,²² 53; Hoennicke,²³ between 50/51 and 53/54, probably the latter; Zahn,²⁴ spring of 53-54; Lewin,²⁵ June 53-54.

Whether or not the Delphi inscription supplies the concrete evidence for fixing the date of Gallio's proconsulship within the limits of the two years from the spring or early summer of 51 to 53 will depend on the validity of Bourguet's piecing together of the fragments of which the inscription is composed.²⁶ The printed text of the inscription does not

¹² *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit. bis Euseb.*, ii. 1. *Die Chron. bis Iren.*, 1897, p. 237.

¹³ *Acta Apostolorum*, 1895, p. 22.

¹⁴ Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, i. 1900, col. 417.

¹⁵ Dessau, *Prosopographia imp. rom.* ii. 1897, p. 238.

¹⁶ *Paulus*, i. 1904, p. 396.

¹⁷ *Pauline and Other Studies*, 1906, p. 361; *Pictures of the Apost. Church*, 1910, p. 237.

¹⁸ Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, ii. 1900, col. 105.

¹⁹ *De temporum in actis apostolorum ratione*, 1833, p. 119.

²⁰ *Chronologie d. apos. Zeitalters*, 1848, p. 119.

²¹ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ii. 1901, col. 1637.

²² *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2te Aufl. 1906, p. 144.

²³ *Die Chronologie d. Lebens d. Apos. Paulus*, 1903, p. 30.

²⁴ *Einleitung in d. Neue Testament*, 3te Aufl. ii. 1907, p. 654.

²⁵ *Fasti Sacri*, 1865, p. 299, no. 1790.

²⁶ Bourguet recognizes the difficulty and uncertainty of this work in general when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 10) "De inscriptionibus tantum loquor, quarum minutissima fragmenta coniungere et quasi resarcere diu quidem conatus sum, sed frustra saepius"; but he combines with this a sense also of positive gain, particularly with reference to the epistles of the Emperors, in the words (*op. cit.*, pp. 59f) "Denique et uiri docti de fragmentis quae hic publici iuris fecero melius exitum institutae rei expedient quam ipse consecutus sum et per molem reliquorum frustulorum uia facilius propterea reperietur quod nonnulla iam aggregata et certo composita praesto erunt". Meanwhile confidence in the scholarly cautiousness and painstaking accuracy of the editor is amply justified by his contributions to the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* and by his work on *L'Administration Financière du Sanctuaire Pythique au iv. siècle avant J.-C.*, 1905, of which (together with

reveal by lines or otherwise the demarcation of the several fragments. The editor finds in the coincidence of the 26th acclamation of Claudius with the name of Gallio confirmation (*confirmari*) of his grouping of the fragments. The dating of Gallio's proconsulship in turn depends on this coincidence. It will be important therefore to learn from a fac-simile or from some fuller description of the fragments the grounds on which this grouping rests. We may perhaps expect information on the subject from a more detailed publication of the Delphi inscriptions, of which a beginning has been made in the *Fouilles de Delphes* edited by M. Théophile Homolle.²⁷

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

Colin's *Le Culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes*) *The Classical Review* says (vol. xxi. 1907, p. 82): "Both books show careful and laborious treatment of the material, and, since the results are arrived at by the strictest accuracy and most scrupulous adherence to the actual data of the inscriptions, the soundness and modesty of the method go far to counterbalance the poverty of the material."

²⁷ *Fouilles de Delphes* (1892-1903), publiées sous la direction de M. Théophile Homolle, Tome iii. Épigraphie. Texte par M. Émile Bourguet. Premier Fascicule, 1910; Texte par M. G. Colin. Deuxième Fascicule, 1909. Paris: Fontemoing & Cie.

REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE.

DARWIN AND THE HUMANITIES. Library of Genetic Science and Philosophy. Vol. II. By JAMES MARK BALDWIN. 8vo; pp.x, 118. Review Publishing Co. Baltimore. 1909.

"This booklet had its origin in a paper on 'The Influence of Darwin on the Mental and Moral Sciences' prepared by request for the Darwin Celebration of the American Philosophical Society, April 23, 1909." Its aim is to show that "the theory of natural selection should be accepted not merely as a law of biology as such, but as a principle of the natural world, which finds appropriate application in all the sciences of life and mind." This aim the author would realize in successive chapters which illustrate how this theory has actually shaped the development of Psychology, of the Social Sciences, of Ethics, of Logic, of Philosophy and Religion. For his undertaking Dr. Baldwin is qualified by the heartiest appreciation of the theory whose influence he would describe and estimate, by profound knowledge of it in all its ramifications and consequences, and by singular activity and success in applying it in the spheres and sciences just named. That he has correctly and with characteristic ability indicated the trend of the sciences under the impulse of Darwinism is not to be doubted. What this trend is and must be appears in such statements as, "Morality has arisen because it is socially useful;" and "The categories are principles which have been selected from numberless possible variations of thought in the course of racial evolution." That these and many other like positions are in accord with the facts Dr. Baldwin regards as established, but it is too big a question to be discussed within the limits of a book-review. It may be remarked, however, in closing that long ago Mr. Spencer published in the *Contemporary Review* an able paper on "The Inadequacy of Natural Selection" and that probably a majority of the most pronounced evolutionists to-day are taking the same stand.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ARISTOTELIAN SOCIETY. New Series.—Vol. X. Containing the Papers read before the Society during the Thirty-First Session, 1909-1910. 8vo, pp. 300. Published by Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 1910. Price ten shillings and sixpence net.

Where all are always good it is difficult to discriminate. The re-

viewer will, therefore, content himself with a list of the subjects and authors of the papers presented.

- I. On Sensations and Images. By S. Alexander.
- II. The Subject-Matter of Psychology. By E. G. Moore.
- III. Epistemological Difficulties in Psychology. By William Brown.
- IV. Kant's Account of Causation. By A. D. Lindsay.
- V. Bergsons Theory of Instinct. By H. Wildon Carr.
- VI. Science and Logic. By E. C. Childs.
- VII. Some Philosophical Implications of Mr. Bertrand Russell's Logical Theory of Mathematics. By S. Waterlow.
- VIII. On Mr. Waterlow's Paper. By Shadworth H. Hodgson.
- IX. Are Secondary Qualities Independent of Perception. I. By T. Percy Nunn. II. By F. C. S. Schiller.
- X. Mr. E. G. Moore on "The Subject-Matter of Psychology." By G. Dawes-Hicks.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

GENERAL THEOLOGY.

THE NEW SCHAFF-HERZOG ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

Based on the Third Edition of the Realencyklopädie founded by J. J. HERZOG and edited by ALBERT HAUCK. Prepared by more than six hundred scholars and specialists under the supervision of SAMUEL MACAULEY JACKSON, D.D., LL.D., with a distinguished staff of associate and department editors. To be complete in twelve volumes, large quarto. Funk and Wagnalls Company, New York and London. \$5 per volume in cloth. Volume VII. Liturgical-Moralities. Volume VIII. Morality-Peterson.

Certain things that have been said concerning the earlier volumes of this great work are to be repeated in connection with each successive volume. It is the only recent work of the kind accessible in English. It is objected to by many as being too orthodox, and by others as not being orthodox enough, but it is useful, and for some purposes indispensable, to the objectors of both classes. It contains mistakes. It illustrates the fact that neither scholars nor proofreaders are infallible. But its standard is unusually high, alike in legibility, mechanical accuracy, and the mental quality of its contents.

According to the summary furnished by the publishers the seventh volume has 520 pages, in which 610 topics are treated by 141 collaborators. This volume has an unusual proportion of long articles on important subjects. Into this part of the alphabet come the names of certain great religious bodies. Fifty-one columns are given to the Methodists of different types, thirty columns to the Lutherans, twenty-one columns to the Mennonites, a smaller number to the Lollards and others. An interesting article is that on Miscellaneous Religious Bodies, containing brief notices of twenty-four small organizations in the United States, most of them formed within the past twenty years.

Eighteen columns are given to Mohammedanism and subsidiary topics. Due attention is paid to certain great religious institutions. The subject of the Lord's Supper occupies thirty-four columns; that of the Mass, thirty columns; that of marriage, twenty-eight columns. The Lord's Prayer is treated, but in less space. Among the treatments of great religious movements are that of Missions to the Heathen, in forty-seven columns; of the Moralists in Great Britain, in thirteen columns; of the Manichaeans, in fourteen; of the Mandaeans, in ten; of Monarchism, in seventeen; of the Monophysites and Monothelites, in twenty-one; of Monasticism, in fourteen columns. Yet more interesting is the briefer article on "Los von Rom". There is a full article on the Midrash. Among the biographies, those of Luther and Melancthon and Mary the mother of Jesus are perhaps the most important. Such subjects as the Messiah, Millenarianism, Miracles, Materialism, Magic, Medo-Persia, Moab and the Moabite Stone, Molech, have their share of space. And not least important are the articles on the Gospels—Mathew and Mark and Luke, though, naturally, these occupy less space than the others which have been mentioned.

All these extended articles are written by men of note, each by a man who has some claim to be regarded as an expert in his subject. The sound principle is adopted of having a movement presented by a writer who is in sympathy with it; where different points of view are regarded as desirable more writers than one are employed on a subject. If what a student desires is merely general information, he will in most cases find what he needs in this Encyclopedia; and in the bibliographies of the several articles he will find an account of the works which he needs for more thorough investigation.

The person who has the Encyclopedia at hand will refer often to some of these more extended articles, and probably he will refer still oftener to the pages that are devoted to the hundreds of briefer articles.

The eighth volume, according to the summary of the publishers, has 518 pages, with 620 topics, treated by 151 collaborators. The present notice will illustrate certain characteristics of the Encyclopedia by instances taken from some of the longer articles.

The article on Mormonism extends to twenty-four and one half columns. It contains, first, a history and estimate of the Mormonism of Utah from the Mormon point of view, prepared by Joseph F. Smith, Jr.; then, a history and estimate prepared by J. R. Van Pelt from a non-Mormon point of view; then, a brief notice of the Mormons of Lamoni, Iowa, by H. K. Carroll; then, an account of anti-Mormon movements, prepared by D. J. McMillan; and, finally, a list of the literature of the subject, filling nearly a column of fine print. The several parts of the article are excellent in quality. They afford all the information on the subject that most of us need, and an admirable starting ground for any who wish to give it especial study.

A good instance of a treatment that is up to date is the article on the Laymen's Missionary Movement, which gives information concern-

ing this particularly interesting branch of Christian work up to May, 1910.

The six columns on the "Muratorian Canon" are admirably intelligible and thorough, and quite in contrast with the inadequate treatments in some of the older books of reference.

A notable piece of compact good work is the article on Negro Education and Evangelization, by Professor Du Bois of Atlanta University. Alike in its sketch of the history, its estimate of the situation, its statistical tables, its bibliography, this article of sixteen columns shows the hand of a master workman. Professor Du Bois has a strong grasp of his subject, and is eminent in the art of clear presentation.

The article on New England Theology is clear and interesting, though the author of it looks at the subject from his own point of view, while other points of view might present it in other aspects. The article defines the New England theology as "a special school of theology which grew up among the Congregationalists of New England, originating in the year 1734, when Jonathan Edwards began his constructive theological work, culminating a little before the civil war, declining afterwards, and rapidly disappearing after the year 1880." "It may be formally defined as the Calvinism of Westminster and Dort modified by a more ethical conception of God." Concerning its achievements the article says that "it had become the dominant school among Congregationalists, had led to a division among Presbyterians, . . . had founded all the theological seminaries of the Congregationalists and several of the Presbyterians, had furnished the vital forces from which had sprung the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, had established a series of colleges from Amherst in the east to Pacific University in the west".

The article regards the New England theology as having been founded by the elder Jonathan Edwards, with Bellamy and Hopkins for his successors; as developing in the work of the younger Edwards and Emmons and others, and through the Universalist and Unitarian controversies; as becoming a "ripened product" in the hands of N. W. Taylor, Bushnell, Park and their associates. It assigns to Park the place of greatness, but really seems to imply that the school reached its culmination in the teachings of Taylor. Of Professors George Park Fisher and Samuel Harris it says that they, "while thoroughly loyal in their own persons to the New England school, had come to base their reasonings . . . so entirely upon foreign, and chiefly German, scholarship, that they constitute the transition from this school to later forms of theology". It mentions Henry B. Smith as within "the precincts of the school", though belonging "to the conservative side". Concerning what it calls "the collapse of the school" it says: "It is a simple historical fact that in 1880 the New England theology was taught at all the theological seminaries with the possible (and only partial) exception of Hartford, and that in about fifteen years the great professors who represented it had all passed away and were succeeded in every case by men who anxiously sought to separate

themselves from all identification with it". The article says that the collapse was due to the fact that the New England theology, in spite of all its eager thinking, remained essentially Calvinistic, refusing to follow the "new" "evolutionistic" "philosophy of the day", which "rejects the idea of a miraculous revelation of religion from God to man", and "explains even the Bible as a development". Without either affirming or denying any of the propositions of this article, one can but be struck with the intense practicalness of the subject of which it treats. The article has no occasion to mention the fact that since the so-called "collapse" which it describes the seminaries referred to, in spite of their immensely increased facilities, and in spite of the very large increase in the number of college graduates who ought to be available for the ministry, have a largely diminished attendance of students. Elsewhere than in New England, among others than Congregationalists, the same alleged new philosophy of religion is pushing itself. It makes high claims concerning the larger intelligence and spirituality which it brings into religion, but its practical effects are uniformly debilitating.

In some of the biblical articles of the volume under consideration, that on Noah for example, it is gratifying to note that the writers, while essentially accepting the Wellhausen analysis, specifically deny many of the charges of inconsistency which the advocates of that analysis bring against the Bible narrative. The Noah article is brought up to date by an insertion concerning Hilprecht's Babylonian deluge tablet, published in 1910.

The eighteen column article on the "Organization of the Early Church" is by Harnack, and is of course intellectually strong. He excels in the art of putting the simplest and most obvious things first, and proceeding from them to matters that are more complex. He begins by proclaiming himself in antagonism with all confessional views, and this indicates an interesting aspect of the article. In his academic studies Harnack was probably instructed in what is called "historical criticism". Of course, historical criticism, in the proper meaning of the term, is genuine science, worthy of all respect; but the tradition which he was taught was probably to the effect that the statements of the Old and New Testaments are to such an extent false as to render it intellectually disreputable to believe them without skeptical verification. As Harnack has investigated for himself he has steadily been coming out from under the bondage of this tradition. He ordinarily accepts the statements of the New Testament as the testimony of competent witnesses, and as probably true. In the article we are considering his statements are mostly based on the utterances of the New Testament, taken in their natural meaning. A column of his work, with its numerous Bible references, appears to the eye like the work of an old-fashioned American conservative. What he says, however, concerning the relations of Jesus to the Church is in contrast with nearly all the rest. He says that "in no other field of Church history is the contrast between the confessional and the historical view

so great as in all that relates to the constitution of the ancient Church". After speaking of the Roman Catholic view he adds that "in both Calvinism and Lutheranism the position was held that the Church was the intentional and direct foundation of Christ. These conceptions are opposed to the entire historical development of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic age". He affirms that on the contrary "what took place was the outgrowth of temporal conditions and proceeded from the fraternal community of men who, through Jesus, had found God". If Harnack held that this "outgrowth" came from seeds planted by Jesus, being foreseen and intended by him, his view would be less anticonfessional than it is, and would be in accordance with natural probabilities. Instead of saying this, he seems to revert to certain traditions concerning "historical criticism". He solves his problem by counting as "later additions" the passages in which Jesus is represented as speaking of the Church and the apostles. He refers to them as for some purposes authentic. He holds "that the Twelve were appointed by Jesus to spread his teachings and to act as the future judges of the twelve tribes of Israel", but that historical criticism requires us to doubt whether Jesus used the word "apostle", though the word was a familiar designation two or three years later. He holds that *ekklesia* is an Old Testament word, and that it was currently applied to the disciples directly after the death of Jesus, and yet that historical criticism hinders our thinking that Jesus used the word. Really it looks as if Dr. Harnack is here concerned to protect himself against the charge of being disreputably unskeptical. In spite of his declaration of hostility, the views he presents will be welcomed, and in large part approved, among non-hierarchical defenders of the confessional positions.

The article on Papyrus, very thorough and admirable, has missed an opportunity in that it fails to give an account of the Aramaic papyrus and ostraka found at Syene and Elephantine in Egypt.

Notable are the articles on Palestine and the Palestine Exploration Fund, Pantheism, Parables, Peace Movements, Pericope, Paul the Apostle, Peter the Apostle, and many others.

Auburn, N. Y.

WILLIS J. BEECHER.

APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION. By HASTINGS RASHDALL, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. Pp. xvi, 189. MODERN BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY. By NEWMAN SMYTH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. Pp. 95.

Dr. Rashdall's little book consists of six lectures delivered in Cambridge, before an audience composed chiefly of undergraduates. They are not intended for theological or philosophical specialists, but "as aids to educated men desirous of thinking out for themselves a reasonable basis of personal religion". Though the reader who is familiar with the author's other writings—The Essay on "The ulti-

mate basis of Theism", in *Contentio Veritatis*, the Essay upon 'Personality in God and Man', in *Personal Idealism*, and the volumes entitled *The Theory of Good and Evil* and *Doctrine and Development*—will find little or nothing new in these lectures, yet their purpose and method are different from those of the works just mentioned and Dr. Rashdall has succeeded in producing an admirably well-written, well-arranged, lucid, and useful little book which should have many readers.

Chapter I, on Mind and Matter, shows that materialism is impossible and states the familiar idealistic argument for the necessity of a Mind which *thinks* the world. This view however is insufficient, and not only the Idealist but the Realist also may make use of the idea of causality derived from our consciousness of volition. The argument of Lecture II leads to the conclusion that the ultimate Reality is to be thought of as a rational will analogous to the will which each of us is conscious of having or being; and hence we are justified in calling God a Person. Lecture III, on God and the Moral Consciousness, maintains (quite truly, in my opinion) that though nature reveals purpose, it does not of itself reveal benevolent purpose, and accordingly the argument from design must be supplemented by the argument from the moral consciousness in order to arrive at a knowledge of the character of God. The corollaries are: (a) Belief in the objectivity of our moral judgments logically implies belief in God; (b) If God aims at an end not fully realized here, we have a ground for postulating Immortality; (c) Evil is real, but is a necessary means to greater good. Lecture IV deals with some difficulties and objections, and among other things criticises Mr. McTaggart's non-theistic Idealism or Pluralism, and also the view that the human mind is a part of the divine consciousness. Lectures V and VI are upon Revelation and Christianity.

Dr. Rashdall is too well known as a liberal theologian to justify the expectation that his view of Christianity will correspond with that of the Reformed Theology. He is not arguing for the truth of Christianity in this sense, but for the reasonableness of a Christian Theism which (to borrow the word he applies to his doctrine of the Trinity) "few Unitarians would repudiate". The present writer is in fundamental agreement with the author's leading positions, so far at least as they are concerned with the philosophical basis of Christian Theism and do not impinge upon the interpretation of historic Christianity. But in a brief notice of a book which covers so many topics, criticism is impossible and the expression of either assent or dissent is uncalled for. I must content myself with expressing the hope that these Lectures will find many readers, both among those who seek and those who deny the need of a reasonable basis of personal religion. Their publication is most timely, because there never was a time when good people who should know better so persistently ignore or deny the intimate relation between philosophy and religion, and when the fact that philosophy is the only ultimate

basis for a reasonable religion seemed to stand so much in need of emphasis. That the big underlying theological questions are metaphysical in character seems to me so obvious that I have always been amazed that people could think anything really important was accomplished or any serious difficulties removed by tinkering or revising a few sentences in some creed or confession. The world is (no doubt fortunately) very far from being made up of philosophers, but I do not suppose that any reflective person really wishes to believe in a non-rational foundationless religion.

Dr. Newman Smyth's Lecture on Modern Belief in Immortality has the perfectly compatible double aim of showing by certain physical analogies that the continuance of the personal life hereafter is not impossible and of offering some positive argument in favor of personal immortality; but his failure to keep these two aspects of his argument distinct and his tendency to blend metaphysical, physical, and religious considerations render his reasoning less clear than it might be, and I confess my inability to follow it at times. This is notably the case where he is reasoning from the analogies furnished by physics and biology, but where he at the same time interjects a spiritualistic view of nature and a theistic interpretation of natural phenomena. This tendency sometimes makes it appear as though he were assuming the thing to be proved. For example, when he argues that "if now some body, it may be as yet a rudimentary and imperfect body, has become of inestimable service to mind in its happy communication with the outward world, and in the mutual recognition of friends; then some *bodiliness* will always be of service to mind; and after this brief earth time the spirit in man may expect to receive the better thing prepared for it, and to enter into some future embodiment more finely organized for its motion and vision in the life beyond"—this language is not only theological ["the better thing prepared for it"] but the author appears to make the assumption that personal consciousness perdures. I am not sure that one is entitled to conclude that since body has become of service to mind therefore some bodiliness will always be of service to mind, and still less that personal spirits must continue to exist in a future state because mind and body appear to belong together.

Dr. Smyth's reasoning sometimes seems to cut both ways. Suppose we fully admit the value of body to mind and that matter and mind 'were made' to exist together (p. 37); we are certainly not shut up to the conclusion that personal consciousness will last forever in connection with a body appropriate to it and its environment; for the inference might be drawn that personal consciousness will cease with the dissolution of the body. If "an embodied spirit is the natural end of the creation", it might be said that the end of creation is already realized in our present mundane life and will continue to be realized until the earth becomes too hot or too cold to support life. If it be true that evolutionary thought recognises the law of coördinate growth between soul and body (p. 29), does evolutionary thought

regard itself as forced to the conclusion that this parallel development of the individual must go on everlastingly? What inference would Dr. Smyth draw from the fact that 'some botanists discern preliminary signs of intelligence in the apex of the root of a plant'? Is it that the individual plant soul is immortal and will continue to exist and grow in another root? Or has the plant life not gained "survival value"? If we ultimately rest our faith in immortality upon the supreme fact of personality and upon the survival value of the personal life (pp. 39, 80), then the argument from the analogy of plant and animal life breaks down; if we rest it upon the analogy between human and non-human consciousness, then the argument from 'the distinctive quality of the personal life' loses its force. Which way does Dr. Smyth mean to argue? Or is he arguing both ways at once? Dr. Smyth's evident desire to be quite up-to-date and to make use of the 'newer thought' of the natural sciences is quite commendable; but his anxiety to correct popular misconceptions and to leave on one side the idea of the soul as a half-materialized entity and to conceive of it not as some sort of independent substance but rather after the analogy of physical energy, is perhaps not as fruitful in its results or as free from difficulties as he imagines. If 'substance' is a metaphysical description of spirit, 'energy' is a physical description; and the one is as metaphorical as the other. Which is the more fruitful conception will depend upon the use that can be made of it. But admitting that the conception of energy "affords a better standing-ground for belief in a possible continuance of life after death than the idea of the soul as some kind of substance", does not the author proceed too fast in his argument when he says: We are to conceive "of personality as undying energy", and it is 'inconceivable' "that such living spiritual energies as are incarnate and radiantly active in the intelligent and purposeful life of a true man, can be brought to a sudden stop.....". "The idea is a contradiction of the law of the conservation of personal energy" (p. 20). But why 'undying'? How 'inconceivable'? And where does Dr. Smyth get this 'law'? That cut is too short; and I do not think Dr. Smyth really means to make his physical metaphor include the assumption of the existence of a law which would make his reasoning superfluous. But what does he mean by a 'true' man? This can not be intended as an argument for conditional immortality, for he holds that "man can make himself a devil or a saint; he cannot unmake himself into a beast that perishes" (p. 32). On the other hand, in one place he raises the question 'whether personal life has attained in any of us survival value' (p. 36), and in another place (p. 49), he argues for immortality on the ground that 'the personal life has gained survival value'. Would the man, then, have gained survival value who had made himself a devil? That is perhaps not an easy question; but if it be answered in the negative, then we must choose between the argument from 'the survival value of personality' and 'the law of the conservation of personal energy'. If in the affirmative,

then we should have to revise our ordinary value judgments in the light of a beyond-good-and-evil metaphysic.

Nor does the author's argument from evolution appear to me particularly cogent. That evolution "puts a supreme value upon the individual man" should not be too naively assumed at the present day. And if it be true that "evolution has attained a result worth perpetuating in personality", it might also be said that evolution does perpetuate personality, and will probably continue to do so for a long time to come, quite apart from personal immortality. And if "the energy of life shows no signs of giving out" (p. 48), does this mean in the individual or in the race? If in the individual, the statement is certainly not true; if in the race, then this has no bearing upon the question of personal survival. It is easy to overwork analogy. Dr. Smyth says 'recent biology has added to our knowledge the fact that the natural history of death shows it to have been a minister of life, that the ascent of life would have been impossible without death, and that the end of the evolution of species is the perfect individual' (p. 69). "Why, then", he asks, "as death has served hitherto the upgrowth of species, should it not complete its ministry by setting free the individual person in whom all the past succession of species is fulfilled"? Why not, indeed? It is certainly not inconceivable; but why, so far as the lesson of natural history is concerned, should death take on this new ministry, and why should it be said that unless the individual person is thus 'set free', 'the law and service of death would be revoked with the coming of man' (p. 69)? "The end of the evolution of species is the perfect individual". But man is still an unfinished and imperfect being (pp. 58-63). The end of evolution is therefore still unreachd, and there is no logical reason why the 'law and service of death', which is necessary to the ascent of life and has served hitherto the upgrowth of species, should either change its character or be revoked. I am not myself much impressed by the common easy optimism based upon the idea of still-ascending life and the promise of the Superman as a satisfying substitute for the hope of immortality, and I should dislike to be thought hypercritical of an author with the general aim and moderate, undogmatic tone of whose argument I sympathise. My own opinion is that there is a good deal in the idea (which Dr. Smyth no doubt derives from Fechner) of the capacity of spirit in some way to fashion its own material embodiment; and I quite agree that 'if Socrates were here, our natural sciences might bring much fine oil for him to change into the light of his immortal hope'.

Princeton.

GEORGE S. PATTON.

DE EMPIRISCHE GODSDIENSTPSYCHOLOGIE. DOOR J. G. GEELKERKEN.
Amsterdam. Scheltema & Holkema's Boekhandel. 1909.

Dr. Geelkerken's book exhibits a great deal of painstaking industry, a considerable amount of learning and extensive reading. The subject of his treatise is the modern empirical psychology of Stanley Hall,

Starbuck, James and Coe, its principal representatives in America, and of some French and Swiss writers, applied to religion. It is a remarkable fact, that Germany, which gave the first impulse to the study of modern empirical psychology, is almost conspicuous by its absence in this field, although Stanley Hall, who introduced Wundt's psychological method among us, imbibed the modern views, when he studied in Germany. In its present form it is an American plant, and Hall may be called, as Geelkerken does, its spiritual father.

The author has arranged his subject matter very well indeed. After a brief introduction he divides his subject into two parts; the first is mainly a description of the views of the great leaders in modern psychological investigation, to a great extent in copious quotations from their writings; the second is a thorough criticism of the principles and deductions, which lead them to the construction of their system. A short but pithy conclusion crowns the work. In addition the author gives us copies of tables, questionnaires and a large list of books on psychology.

In reading Dr. Geelkerken's book the thought struck me, that there are advantages in belonging to a small nation. The author gives all his quotations in the original. He does not put them in footnotes or in an appendix, but in the body of the text, making his book a linguistic mosaic. He expects his readers to be able to follow him, when he quotes in English, French, German and Italian. And his quotations are sometimes very long extracts, covering several pages. American, English, French and German writers would hesitate in putting such polyglot books into the hands of their readers. In the Netherlands a writer may do this, as it seems, without any fear of criticism. It is understood that, as a rule the readers of such books have at least sufficient knowledge of the languages used in the quotations. The advantages of such a method are apparent. It enables one to control the writer's statements, because it is not difficult to verify them, having the *ipsisima verba* of the several writers before you.

In the descriptive part Dr. Geelkerken treats his subject exhaustively. Our only objection is, that he now and then pauses in his description to criticize some of the statements of our modern psychologists. This he ought to have relegated to the critical part of his treatise.

In three paragraphs Dr. Geelkerken gives us his view of the origins of empirical psychology of religion. He finds the germs of this new development in Pietism, Herrnhutism Methodism and Revivalism. You see he goes far from home in his investigations. The idea of empirical psychology of religion he traces along the different lines of demarcation, generally made by modern psychologists between their science and the old theology, the philosophy of religion and the history of religions. On this foundation the author gives us an outline of the history of empirical psychology. In the fourth paragraph he describes the method used in building up the system. This paragraph is of great importance, for it gives us a definition of the science, puts in a clear light its subjective character and its indifference regarding the reality

of the subjective religious experiences, which is indeed the Achilles heel of the whole system.

Having by all this prepared the way for a description of the details, which are of such a kind, that it is impossible for us in a short book notice to give a review of them, the author carries his readers from point to point, slowly but surely, as you may expect from a good Dutchman. His resumption of the subject-matter is very instructive. He speaks very clearly about the root-principles of empirical psychology. The first is biological and leads empirical psychologists of religion to define religion as life. The second is evolutionistic,—which views evolution as an ontogenetic and a phylogenetic process. The third is emotionalistico-voluntary, which reduces the intellectual factor to a minimum and declares it to be only of secondary importance. The fourth is pragmatical with its watchword of utility. "God is not understood; He is used." Whether there is a God, or what He is, is of no importance, and is relegated to the metaphysical lumber room. Religion has nothing to do with the metaphysical attributes ascribed to God. This is, although some may find in it the strongest foundation of empirical psychology of religion, the weakest principle of the whole system, removing entirely the reality of religion. A result of all this is, that empirical psychology of religion is absolutely individualistic. "Religion," as quoted by Dr. Geelkerken, "is a monumental chapter in the history of human egotism." If this is all, then certainly it is true what J. Moses says, as quoted by our author, "We shall hold that whenever the religious experience or practice injure the psychical or physical condition of the individual or groups, or retard their growth so that they cannot think, act or feel in relation to their environment, in accordance with the standards normal to their stages of development, they are positively pathological." In harmony with these principles we are prepared to find that modern empirical psychology of religion is entirely inimical to transcendent supranaturalism, although James declares himself to be a supranaturalist of some kind. It is not strange to find that he has polytheistic ideas, which he calls pluralistic supranaturalism. Of course, not all agree with this position of James, but notwithstanding the differences in detail, in the chief position they seem all agreed. "Religion is social, racial, world-adjustment." And Starbuck says, "It is the function of religion to help humanity keep its bark trimmed for the open sea. It is concerned chiefly with keeping men alive to the deeper stream of reality, out of which they are continually dragged by entanglement with the 'objects' of consciousness, in the form of definite ideas and specific feelings." Such a statement is not based on James' "pluralism," but is rather monistic, in harmony, however, with most of the root-principles of the modern psychology of religion. Religion is nothing but "exclusively a phenomenon of human experience," as Dr. Geelkerken puts it. Of course, the representatives of empirical psychology of religion claim the future for their view of religion. We are accustomed to listen to such acclamations of enthusiasts, and are willing to leave it to the verdict of history.

In his critical part Dr. Geelkerken first investigates the formal principles and finds them wanting. He does not deny that there is something in the method pursued, which has its merits. It draws the attention of scholars towards interesting material for study; it enables them to make use of this material; it helps them in investigating the physical correlated phenomena as also in their investigation of the pathological phenomena; in their search for laws and in many other ways too numerous to mention.

Objections to the method of empirical psychology of religion are manifold. Dr. Geelkerken thinks its conception of experience erroneous and confusing. Facts and theory clash. Of its conception of observations the same must be said. The author objects to its "anti-metaphysical" character, which is not tenable, as is proven from the hypotheses and principles used by the psychologists themselves. The criticism of the material principles is exceptionally thorough and fine. Although he finds something to praise in all the principles, which we have already mentioned in the author's Resumption, he shows with a great deal of forcibleness the contradictions, superficiality and carelessness of treatment, and its utter inconsistency with Christianity, especially the ignoring of the Divine factor in religion. I agree perfectly with the author, when he maintains, that religious life cannot expect any vigorous revival as a result of these psychological investigations. In combination with philosophy and history of religion as a third part of an anthropological science of religion it certainly has its merits, but it is preposterous to believe that it will in the end fill the place of theology.

We commend this book very heartily to all, who are able to read Dutch, English, French and German. They will find in it a wealth of information, a lucid development of the subject and a trenchant criticism of the main positions of the modern empirical psychology of religion.

Holland, Mich.

NICHOLAS M. STEFFENS.

THE PLEROMA. An Essay on the Origin of Christianity. By DR. PAUL CARUS. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1909.

The works of the author of this essay, and many of the other publications of the Open Court Company are not, as they claim to be, and no doubt honestly strive to be, merely unprejudiced scientific investigations in the field of Comparative Religion. They are part of a great modern propaganda. They voice the demand that all religions are to be explained as evolutionary in origin, natural in development and similar in aim and authority. Of course, they take for granted at the outset that the peculiar activity of the Supernatural in history and revelation as it has been claimed to be manifested in the Bible does not exist and never was so manifested.

Before considering in detail this essay we must therefore remember the fundamental position which underlies the author's work when he begins by denying as impossible one of the chief claims of Chris-

tianity, the immediate supernatural personal revelation of God to men chosen to receive this, and then adds to it the denial of another doctrine also everywhere insisted upon in the Scriptures, that the inspiration of the Bible is peculiar to itself and that therefore Christianity and Christianity *alone* is a true statement of the relation of God and man and of the unseen world as well. When these denials are postulated it no longer becomes possible to have a really scientific investigation to determine the truth of the religion of Christ. Should such an investigation be commenced, it should take note of these claims; and instead of utterly disregarding them or considering them as no longer anywhere believed, it should carefully investigate them, weighing the evidence pro and con. In this way it would be necessary to consider not only the origin of each religion and its similarity to others but also its effects and to judge whether, in the light of the influence of Christianity upon the individual and the race, there was not required a sharp distinction between it and all others, between its sacred writings and the sacred books of all the other race religions.

Dr. Carus begins his essay by stating that Christianity was predetermined by the needs of the age. It owes more to the Gentiles than to the Jews, since its doctrines are largely paralleled by corresponding ideas existing in various forms among the Gnostics, Sethites, and philosophers. Its rites and sacraments find similar symbols among those usually called "pagans", while several of the chief doctrines and rites of the religion of Christ stand in direct opposition to Jewish ideals, as for example, eating flesh and drinking blood as it appears in the Eucharist, and the worship of Jesus as divine. We may well stop to note that Dr. Carus here illustrates one of the great weaknesses of his own work. The Communion Service or the Last Supper is strictly parallel to a Jewish feast, in complete harmony with the Passover ritual and not heathen in origin. Even the symbolism is connected with that of the paschal lamb. Also the difficulties raised here did not seem to trouble either the Christians or the Jews of the first century and therefore it is not reasonable to suppose that they are real. As to Jesus' claim to be the Son of God, there are plenty of passages from the prophets which justify this, and the idea of the reign of God Himself on earth is Jewish and appears frequently in the Old Testament. Later in this essay the author illustrates the same failing. He everywhere when in doubt decides in favor of the most critical position and in regard to the history of the Jews and to the life and work of Jesus, his interpretation and exegesis are those of a special pleader and not of an unbiased and well trained exegete.

Dr. Carus's essay continues by picturing the Old Paganism and by choosing only the bright parts, interpreting their symbols in the light of our present spiritual position, (gained largely through the Scriptures), and omitting all the awful mass of filth and mad wickedness in which they abound. He draws a noble picture of the Ethnic religions, showing how similar in many ways parts of them are to parts of Christianity.

On page 20 we have a summary of Christianity. It is interesting to note that while it is claimed that this must be almost wholly pagan in origin, yet practically every part of this summary can be found stated or foreshadowed in the Hebrew Prophets. Of course, if we are to grant the author the privilege of interpreting the ancient heathen myths in the most favorable possible light, in reading into their expressions concepts that were never intended by their authors, in choosing here and there a pearl and letting it represent the ground formation instead of looking at the filthy ooze from which this jewel came—if we allow this on the one hand and on the other are willing to see the Bible statements taken in their most unfavorable light, with their meaning shortened and emasculated, then we may agree with Dr. Carus that Christianity is only Paganism Redivivus. It is impossible to take up here the many points where this double misrepresentation occurs, but any candid critic who will study the Bible text and can study something of the great mass of the Pagan writings, cannot fail to see how baseless is the claim that Christianity arises chiefly from varying forms of Pagan thought.

The essay continues by outlining the Gnostic beliefs which are said to be the forerunners of Christian Theology and not heresies from it, then speaks of the period of transition and builds an argument on the followers of John the Baptist, preferring to take doubtful possibilities as to his connection with certain sects rather than the clear statement of the Gospels which imply the supernatural. Gnosticism in its more favorable aspects appears before us and we are then asked to consider the kindred sects in Palestine and Egypt. Here occur some surprising statements about John and Jesus as being of the sects of the Zabians and the Nazarenes. The difficulty arises in confusing the cause for the effect. The Nazarenes arose because the followers of Jesus were called contemptuously after the despised name of their Master's native city. The reference to the Ebionites as "the poor" of the sermon on the mount is amusing, but impossible, as in the Gospels there is nowhere any evidence that Jesus allied himself with any faction or sect. He strove to keep free from them.

How the Gentile Saviour changed into the Christ is the title of the next section. This took place by a process of Idealization and through Pagan influences in which that of the Persians predominated. A witness to the transitional phase is found in the Revelation of St. John. Here again a better understanding of the Bible might be obtained by comparing it with the other forms of Apocalyptic writings of the age and with the Old Testament prophets, rather than altogether with conceptions outside the canon. The author outlines his explanation of why Christianity conquered, and concludes his essay with a section on the origin of Judaism and its significance to Christianity. We might note in passing, the Chapter on the Judaism of Jesus and its surprising failure to understand the incident related in Mark xii., 35-37. The work concludes with a summary and a few pages on the future of Christianity.

This essay makes increasingly manifest the need of thorough Bible study. Its form is so attractive, its material so well chosen and its conclusions, on their face, so natural and so plausible that it can only harm those who will not investigate for themselves. Truth is ever good and ever necessary, but half truths are exceedingly dangerous to those who are either too lazy to study and think for themselves or are too ignorant to be able to distinguish and to understand. The only real antidote for this propaganda is a thorough knowledge of what the Bible really is and what it really teaches, and this can come only through study. A church or a body of christians ignorant of doctrine and the Bible must be ever at the mercy of the latest plausible and tempting theory.

This essay makes one thing very clear, and for this it is very valuable. In the heart of man, of the universal man, is a vague hope for a saviour, is a longing for personal communion with God. The desired things of all nations are found in Jesus. Hindu and Egyptian, Greek and Chinaman have hoped that the things that have been revealed to us might be true. Their prophets have desired to know what God has given to the world. There are many who even now claim that all we need is the moral value of the truths of Christianity and that historicity is of no importance. If this is so, Dr. Carus is right in his contention. If this is so, we have only what the heathen have—vague longings, unfulfilled hopes, no certainty, a great *If*, to believe and worship.

The fullness of time came but it did not of itself produce the needed religion. Some of the elements were present, some of the outward emblems, in their form at least, were in readiness; but there was no life, no power, no incarnation of truth. The world was skeptical, tired, and hopeless. Then God sent forth His Son, and hope became reality; and the Power of the Spirit of God has ever since proved the uniqueness and exclusive right of the good news of Jesus Christ.

Cranford, N. J.

GORDON M. RUSSELL.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY. A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON GENESIS. By JOHN SKINNER, D.D., Hon. M.A. (Cantab.), Principal and Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature, Westminster College, Cambridge. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. 8vo.; pp. lxvii, 551. \$3.00 net.

Notwithstanding "the reaction against the critical analysis of the Pentateuch" Professor Skinner declares his continued "belief in the essential soundness of the present hypothesis" (p. viii.). He believes also that mythical imagination, legend, and poetic idealisation are the life and soul of the narratives in Genesis. Our constant impression

in studying the book is that the author goes to an extreme in discrediting the narrative, an extreme not demanded by either his theory of myths or by his literary analysis.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRITICAL COMMENTARY. A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES. By EDWARD LEWIS CURTIS, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature in the Divinity School of Yale University, and ALBERT ALONZO MADSEN, Ph.D., Pastor of the First Congregational Church at Newburgh, N. Y. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910. 8vo.; pp. xxii, 533. \$3.00 net.

Professor Curtis regards the contents of the books of the Chronicles as unhistorical, not in a few instances, but pervasively and prevailingly so. This theory dominates the criticism of the text and the exposition of the meaning, and for the author settles many vital questions without debate. The Chronicles were, indeed, written by a priest who lived more than a century after the exile and whose supreme interest was centered in the history of the temple and its worship. His account accordingly, while traversing in part the same ground that is covered in the books of the Kings, often differs in details from the prophetic narrative, being written for the elucidation of other matters. None of these facts militates against the historic accuracy of his narrative. That narrative, if accurate at all, if true in its general account of events, contradicts certain theories concerning the development of Israel's religion. There's the rub.

The text of the Chronicles has suffered much in transmission. This deterioration was to be expected in a work that includes so many registers and numerical records and genealogical lists as part of its historical material. It was especially easy for a scribe to lose himself among these mazes, where the earliest manuscripts were written with a script in which several of the letters were scarcely, and when carelessly formed were quite, indistinguishable from each other, where there is seldom a means by which one may determine the true reading, and where the omission of a word is not readily detected by the eye and continuity of sense does not keep the mind of the copyist on his task. In seeking to restore the original text Professor Curtis cites, or at least refers to, the literature on the subject; and makes valuable suggestions of his own. In addition to the recovery of the original text the investigator of the literary history, yes, and the wise expositor too, wishes to know and classify and catalogue the documents used by the Chronicler in the preparation of his history. Here also Professor Curtis affords aid both by means of a comprehensive bibliography of modern treatises and by a discussion of his own, which sets the problem before the reader, even though it may still leave the reader unconvinced that the reduction of sources to the number argued for is correct. To those whose work calls for a strictly critical commentary on the text and the sources this com-

mentary is commended. It is a report of progress along these lines, a guide to the literature, a display of the material for discussion. For this purpose there is no other one book in English of equal value with this work of Professor Curtis.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE STUDENT'S OLD TESTAMENT. THE SERMONS, EPISTLES AND APOCALYPSES OF ISRAEL'S PROPHETS from the Beginning of the Assyrian Period to the End of the Maccabean Struggle. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. With Maps and Chronological Charts. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910. 8vo.; pp. xxv, 516. \$2.75 net.

This volume of the Student's Old Testament consists, like its predecessors in the series, of a general introduction and the biblical text in new translation and radical re-arrangement. If one is able to ignore the existence of predictive prophecy, to consider prophecy, when it is not ethical and based on a belief concerning God's nature, to be for the most part mere hope, to assign Professor Kent's dates to the prophecies (placing for instance, Is. xl-lv after Zech. i-viii, and sections of Isaiah, Amos and Micah in the Greek and Maccabean period, such as Is. iv.2-6; ix.2-7; xi.1-16; Amos ix.9-15; Mic.v.1-15), to excise verses and clauses for the reasons given in the footnotes (comp. Amos. i.2; ii.4; Hos. xi.10,11; Is. vii.8), and radically to change the text without any textual authority for doing so (comp. Zech. vi. 11, 13), then one can accept as adequate Professor's Kent's account of the origin and development of the prophet and his characterization and history of messianic prophecy. But not otherwise.

The declaration that "Amos also first proclaimed those vital truths regarding Jehovah's just and universal rule and the obligation of man to man which inaugurated a new epoch in the history of religion" (p. 63) reminds us of the question asked in naive form, "Who was the first drunkard?", and the naively accepted answer, "Noah".

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH, Translated from a Text Revised in accordance with the Results of Recent Criticism. With Introductions, Critical Notes and Explanations, and Two Maps. By G. H. Box, M.A., Formerly Scholar of St. John's College, Oxford; Sometime Hebrew Master at Merchant Taylors' School, London. Together with a Prefatory Note by S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Fellow of the British Academy. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. 8 vo., pp. xv, 365. \$2.25 net.

The primary purpose of the author is to offer a new critical translation of the book of Isaiah which shall embody the most important results of recent research and criticism and thereby serve as a companion volume and simple commentary to the Revised Version. Ac-

cordingly, the several prophecies, longer and shorter, are treated separately and each is provided with a suitable title and also with a brief introduction in order to set forth as definitely as possible or to discuss the date, the occasion, and the literary form. Footnotes record the changes which it has been deemed proper to make in dealing with the Hebrew text, state the reasons for the alteration, and generally name recent writers who have adopted these changes.

The author shows great deference to the opinions of Gressmann. In one great class of passages, eschatological ones in a sense, several of which are assigned in Professor Kent's book noticed above to the Greek and Maccabean periods, the acceptance of Gressmann's contentions results in allowing a date as early as the time of Isaiah. The author's main dependence, however, for the revision of the text referred to on the title page and for interpretation is upon Duhm, the recent work of Cheyne, and Marti. And the extreme theory that the prophetic discourses at all times and in every part should show the rigid formality of a poem in structure and rhythm (compare Driver's remark, p. xi) dominates the present work, and the Hebrew text on this ground alone is constantly transposed or omitted or a lacuna assumed in order to introduce a supposed improvement into its rhythm.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH IN FIFTEEN STUDIES. By GEORGE L. ROBINSON, Ph.D. (Leipzig), Professor Old Testament Literature and Exegesis, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago. New York: Young Men's Christian Association Press. 1910. 12mo.; pp. 175.

This modest book has been prepared and published to meet the needs of the Y. M. C. A. in the work of instructing classes in the study of the Bible. The author has the gift of presenting his learning, when he chooses, in popular form, and has become a teacher at summer assemblies who is heard with gladness by both clergymen and laymen.

The significance of this little book lies in the attitude of the scholar who writes it toward the authorship of the prophecies which he discusses, and implicitly toward the great fundamental matters which the question of authorship involves. Professor Robinson deliberately parts company with those who treat the book of Isaiah as a heterogeneous mass of miscellaneous oracles ranging in date from the time of Uzziah and Hezekiah to the days of the Maccabees, and he confesses himself convinced of the unity and genuineness of the book of Isaiah and sets forth tersely certain reasons which compel his belief (pp. 59-67.).

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

CODEx TAURINENSIS (Y). Transcribed and collated by the REV. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D., Jesus College, Cambridge. Henry Frowde: Oxford University Press; London, Edinburgh, New York, To-

ronto and Melbourne. 1908. 8vo.; pp. ix, 136. Price Four Shillings net.

The Turin manuscript of the Dodekapropheton is the codex which Dr. Swete denotes by the symbol Y. It contains Lucian's recension of the Septuagint text of the Twelve Minor Prophets, and the scanty remains of a commentary by Theodoret. Assigned with probability to the ninth century, or at latest to the tenth, it is the earliest known manuscript containing this recension of the Twelve Prophets. The headings of each book (the opening verse of the Hebrew text) and the caption to the prayer of Habakkuk are written in uncials; the text of the prophecies is cursive. The books are arranged in the Hebrew order.

This transcript is the first of the codex to be published or collated. It was given for the first time to the public in the pages of the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vols. vi-viii, 1905-1907. Dr. Oesterley, who had already laid students of the Old Testament text under obligations to him by printing the Old Latin Texts of the Minor Prophets (JTS., Vols. v-vi), has earned their thanks afresh for his arduous labor in copying and collating this precious work of an unknown scribe and publishing it in handy form.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL. By ALFRED LOISY, Professor of the History of Religions at the Collège de France. Translated by ARTHUR GALTON. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1910. 8vo, pp. xxxii. 288. \$1.50 net.

This book contains little that has not been said before, and by others; but it is full of interest. The work was intended to be a continuation of articles on religion and revelation which had been published by the author in the *Revue du clergé français*. The pages of the review were, however, closed to him by action of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris after the first instalment had appeared in the issue for October 1900; but the whole work was immediately published as a pamphlet, in the early months of 1901. The book did not stand alone in the thought of the Abbé Loisy. It was an integral part of a comprehensive survey of the Old and New Testaments. Interest centers in it because of its relation to this larger field and because of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to the ultimate conclusions of the author.

Alfred Loisy was born February 28th, 1857, at Ambrières, a village about eighty miles distant from Paris, in the department of Marne. Ordained a priest in 1879, he spent two years in pastoral work and then became professor of Holy Scripture, Hebrew and Assyrian in the Catholic University of Paris. This position he was compelled to resign (*Autour d'un petit livre*, p. xi), when Pope Leo XIII issued his encyclical on Holy Scripture in 1893, and he was appointed chaplain to the Dominican nuns of Neuilly-sur-Seine. Five years later, in 1899, he retired to Bellevue, between Paris and Versailles, and obtained a

government position as lecturer on biblical exegesis in l'École des Hautes Études, and also delivered lectures at the Sorbonne on gospel literature.

In his book on *La religion d'Israël*, now translated, the author begins with a chapter on the literary sources and character of the books of the Old Testament, in which he describes them as late and as abounding in mythology, legend, idealizations, contradictions, and editorial modifications; proceeds to a discussion of the origin of Semitic religion, out of which the tribal Jahvism of Israel sprang; and conducts the reader from the old Jahvism through a form of prophecy into early Judaism and various messianic conceptions; and leaves the reader with the question springing to his lips, What then, with such methods of criticism and such conclusions, does the author think of Christ? The sequels of this work speedily appeared: *Études évangéliques* and *L'Évangile et l'Église* in 1902, and *Autour d'un petit livre* and *Le quatrième Évangile* in 1903. The author considers the narratives of the first three Gospels to be far removed in time from the events, and quite untrustworthy and legendary; he interprets the Fourth Gospel throughout in a purely symbolical and allegorical sense, and expressly states that it is not history; and he treats miracles as unhistorical: the Virgin did not conceive by the Holy Ghost; Jesus wrought no miracles, though he probably effected some cures of nervous disorders, was not conscious of being God become man and never claimed to be a divine person; and the resurrection of his body from the grave has not been demonstrated as a fact of history. The author asserts that the divinity of Christ is not a matter of historical inquiry, but is a metaphysical question. On December 4th, 1903, the book on the religion of Israel and the four others that have been mentioned were placed on the Index, as containing "numerous and grave errors, principally concerning the nature of primitive revelation, the authenticity of the deeds and teaching recorded in the Gospels, the divinity of Christ and his knowledge, and the institution of the church and the sacraments" (Merry del Val to Cardinal Richard, Dec. 19, 1903; *Autour d'un petit livre*, p. vi.). Abbé Loisy announced his submission to the decree of the Sacred Congregation condemning his books. His submission was not satisfactory. In 1904, as a proof of good will, he resigned his government position as lecturer on biblical exegesis in l'École des Hautes Études. He ceased lecturing also at the Sorbonne, and left the neighborhood of Paris. He professed to be a Christian in that he believed in Christ's ideal of the kingdom, that is the reign of justice and happiness among men. His authority to say mass in his own house expired, and was not renewed; and he said mass for the last time on November 2nd, 1906, but continued to attend mass on Sundays. Two months later he publicly declared that he did not understand a single article of the creed in the same sense as the church, that the commonly received view of revelation is childish, and that for twenty years he had regarded the whole Catholic system as doomed. He was quite free to leave the Roman communion and lay aside the badge of office in it, if he chose; but

neither did he withdraw from the Church nor did his opinions undergo a change, and on March 7th, 1908, sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by the Holy Office. He has not worn the clerical garb since. In 1909 he was appointed to the chair which he now occupies, the professorship of the history of religions at the Collège de France.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

A HISTORY OF THE SCIENCES. HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

By ARCHIBALD DUFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Theology in the United College, Bradford. With Illustrations. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press. 1910. Small 8vo.; pp. xiii, 201. 75 cents net.

This little book "is published in London by The Rationalist Press Association, Limited." Accepting the dating of the Old Testament writings which is assigned to them by one of the three recognized schools of criticism, the author writes his history of critical work done by the Hebrews of the Old Testament period on this basis and from this point of view. If the theory is true, Dr. Duff's account of early criticism is essentially true; if the theory is false and destined to give way to another, Dr. Duff's account is also false. The narrowness of the author's field of vision is equally apparent in the latter half of the book, in his sketch of the history of criticism during the last one hundred and fifty years. His gaze is fixed on the rise and progress of the same school, on the gradual emergence of its fundamental postulates, its establishment, and later extended building on the same foundations. The historical-critical work of Ewald is not mentioned except in the single reference to "the brilliant but uncertain conjectures of Ewald" (p. 161); and the eminent scholars who have reached similar conclusions as Ewald and perpetuated them are nowhere even named. Yet their work has left its distinctive marks on the history of Old Testament criticism; and certain methods, much in vogue at present for the emendation of the text, were fostered and furthered by Ewald, especially in his criticism of the Psalms. In view of this omission it is not surprising that the interpretation and investigations of the conservative school are ignored. Moreover the author leaves unnoticed those forms of Old Testament criticism which do not deal with the letter of the text, or the literary sources, or dates, but independently of these matters, or regarding them as wholly minor, judge the prophecies from the standpoint of pure naturalism and the narratives on the basis of the mythical and legendary in primitive literature.

Considering methods in textual, literary, and historical criticism, which are followed to a large extent by members of the school to which Dr. Duff belongs, his remark is naïve that "we have learned now not to let subjective preference influence our decisions" (p. 8).

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. By JOHN D. DAVIS, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental and Old Testament Literature in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N J. With many new and original Maps and Plans and Amply Illustrated. Third Edition. Revised Throughout and Enlarged. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 1911. 8vo.; pp. vii, 840.

The title page mentions the enlargement of this book. In mere bulk the increase in size amounts to the addition of thirty-eight pages. But beyond that, it means pervasive revision and great enrichment. The first edition issued from the press in 1898. The American revision of the English version of the Bible was published about two years later, and it became desirable that the orthography of the proper names according to its standard be noted. Due record of these orthographic changes has accordingly been made on the pages of the Dictionary. The articles on geography, history, and chronology reflect the light that has come during the past twelve years. Most of the articles on the books of the Old and New Testaments have been elaborated and materially enlarged; chiefly in order to show the place which the books have occupied in the life of the church, to exhibit the personal traits of the writers, and to reveal the superb outlook of these men upon God and the world. New articles have been introduced, without however changing the scope of the work; and other articles have been recast or rewritten, when by doing so greater simplicity and clearness seemed attainable; and they have been enlarged wherever experience in the use of the book has shown that its practical utility would be increased. The maps with which the Dictionary is furnished, both in the midst of the text and as an appendix, are designed to meet the needs of biblical students. They are accurate, they illustrate the statements and discussions in the geographical articles, and they are free from eccentricities in the identification of sites.

Princeton.

J. D. D.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AMONG THE SEMITIC RELIGIONS. By GEORGE RICKER BERRY, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages, Colgate University. Philadelphia: The Griffith and Rowland Press, 1910. Pp. 215, with indices. \$1.00 net.

The question which this writer proposes for solution in this book is, What features of the religious teaching, or theology, of the Old Testament are to be considered common to the Hebrews and some other nation or nations, and what features are distinctive? After a preliminary sketch of Semitic history and literature that seems scarcely necessary in a book of this character, Professor Berry takes up the comparison proposed under three main topics, divine beings, man, and the future life. This part of his book, which naturally forms the bulk of it, traverses familiar ground and is of value as a contribution to the subject mainly from the author's analysis and grouping of his material. The value of the method appears in the concluding

part, where because of it the miscellaneous data can be gathered up and viewed in certain convenient categories.

The writer deals first with the group of religious phenomena where the resemblance between Hebrew and non-Hebrew doctrine or custom is marked. In accounting for these resemblances the theory of borrowing (*e. g.*, Hebrew from Babylonian), so urgently advocated by some, is distinctly rejected. "The common element must be accounted for as the result of inheritance from common ancestors. It is not meant that there may not also be some borrowing, but this, if so, must pertain to the details rather than to the main substance of the conceptions." The group of ideas where the resemblance between the Hebrew religion and the other Semitic religions is much less marked than in the first group, receives a similar though less definite verdict. While in details there may have been influence or borrowing, the similarity may, in the main, best be accounted for on the basis of "early Semitic inheritance", and there may also have been a certain amount of independent parallel development.

Among the teachings of the Old Testament which are distinctive and without close Semitic parallels, our author considers first the group that shows the most decided contrast with the other religions. Here he rejects expressly the sweeping assertions of pan-Babylonians, pointing out the significant fact that the closest resemblances have been found on the lower and formal side of Israel's religion, whereas the spiritual and ethical side is represented in this group of distinctive doctrines.

If the source of these elements of Old Testament religion was not borrowing, what then was it? Dr. Berry does not hesitate to give the only satisfactory answer that has been or will be found to this question: "the marked superiority of the Old Testament teachings in reference to that which is most fundamental indicates clearly that here a new cause is in operation. That cause, it seems evident, is the unique presence of God, the illumination of God giving perception of spiritual truth, that which is usually called, and fitly, the special revelation of God." This conclusion, the author continues, is everywhere confirmed by the comparison of Old Testament teachings with those of the other Semitic religions where the difference is less marked than in the cases of actual contrast and contradiction. The superiority of the Hebrew to the non-Hebrew teachings always bears witness to the same great fact, the agency of divine revelation.

For every such pronouncement in favor of the divine as the only adequate explanation of the uniqueness of Israel's religion we are grateful: not because this patent fact is ever going to be engulfed in the sea of naturalistic criticism, but because the frail craft of many a weak mariner caught in the currents of that sea is in danger of wreck, and every fresh utterance of this fact by a trusted specialist is like a new beacon on the shore of faith; its light may reach some who without it would be left to darkness and disaster.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

ARTAXERXES III OCHUS AND HIS REIGN, with Special Consideration of the Old Testament Sources Bearing upon the Period. By NOAH CALVIN HIRSCHY. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1909. Pp. 85. Paper, postpaid 81 cents.

This is a doctor's dissertation, evidently produced under the stimulus and direction of Marti at the University of Bern. It is an attempt, first, to reconstruct, out of tenuous and doubtful allusions variously estimated and interpreted by historians of the Persian period, a picture of the fortunes of Palestine during the stormy reign of Ochus (B. C. 358-338), and then, secondly, to interpret certain prophecies and psalms on the supposition that they were the product of that age.

The result of this double line of research is to draw up a list of "Old Testament sources" for the reign of Ochus. In this list figure the following passages: Isaiah xxiii. 1-14 and xix. 1-15 "certainly"; Isaiah 56-66 ("Trito-Isaiah") "probably"; Pss. xlv., lxxiv., lxxix., and lxxxiii "not certain, yet probable"; Is. xiv. 28-32 "probably...reflections of the campaigns of Ochus".

The vices and weaknesses of the method pursued in this treatise are too well known to require repetition here. Textual emendations on a purely subjective basis supply almost the only tangible evidence for dating these "sources" in the fourth century. This manufactured "evidence" is too weak to sustain its own weight, much more that of the thesis imposed upon it.

The only part of the study in which we find ourselves thoroughly in sympathy, is the author's deprecation of the folly to which many modern scholars have committed themselves, in assigning a Macabaeian date to certain psalms that must have been in existence centuries before the time of the Maccabees. The comparison of I Macc. vii. 17, for example, with Ps. lxxix. 2, 3 ought to satisfy anyone, as it satisfies Dr. Hirschy, that this psalm was not produced in the middle of the 2nd century. In fact the chief impression left upon the reader's mind on closing a work of this character is the pitifully small amount of information that we possess concerning the history of antiquity. The arguments for distrusting the historical statements and presuppositions of the Old Testament are almost always arguments deriving their strength mainly from our ignorance.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

BETWEEN THE TESTAMENTS. By C. M. GRANT, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. No date. Pp. xii, 146.

This is a delightfully written little book, containing just what the average Christian reader should know—but doesn't know—about "the four hundred years separating the Old and New Testaments". Two thirds of the book are occupied with the history, the other third with the literature, of this period. Of the several books that have appeared recently dealing with this subject and intended for general reading, this is the one that can be most unreservedly commended. Within the

limits frankly stated and duly observed, it is the best book in English on this period that we know.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND MODERN THOUGHT, OR, THE PLACE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT DOCUMENTS IN THE LIFE OF TO-DAY. By W. B. JORDAN, B.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 322, with Index. \$3.00 net.

The most useless sort of book that is being produced to-day in the department of Biblical scholarship. All that is definite, detailed and tangible in it is old, collected from a hundred sources where it can be better estimated. And all that is original in it represents the private judgment of one man upon this mass of facts and their bearing upon the world of religious and philosophical thought. It will be a good day for Old Testament scholarship, when it is no longer deemed necessary for every Old Testament professor to come forward with one of these general pronouncements that prove nothing, contribute nothing and arrive nowhere.

Princeton.

J. OSCAR BOYD.

THE WORD FOR GOD IN CHINESE. By the Rev. C. A. STANLEY, D.D., of the American Board Mission, Tientsin, China. Second edition, revised. Shanghai. 1909.

If, as Dr. Stanley claims, and as we suppose truly claims, the word *shen* is the generic term for god in Chinese, then we think he has made out clearly his contention, that it is the proper word to employ in Chinese as the equivalent of the Hebrew *Elohim* and of the Greek *Theos*. Nor can we see how it can be successfully maintained, that *Shangti*, the name of the deified emperor and of an idol, can be equally good as a term to connote the only, living and true God. Dr. Stanley's argument is fine and should be convincing to all who admit his premisses. We are eager to hear if these can be truthfully denied.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

DER BABYLONISCHE TALMUD. Textkritische Ausgabe. (Mit einer Realkonkordanz). Vokalisiert, übersetzt und erklärt von Dr. JAKOB FROMER, Charlottenburg 4 Verlag für die Wissenschaft des Judentums 1910. Probeheft, Teil I (Ordnung 4, Traktat 1) Baba Kamma.

The purpose and plan of this proposed work are admirable and commendable. We approve of the author's intention to provide his text with vowels, thus providing his readers with the basis of his translation. The critical notes and readings and the concordance promise to be especially useful. We hope the author will be able to finish his great work.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

THE RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA, especially in its relations to Israel. Five lectures delivered at Harvard University by ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Ph.D., (Leipzig), Litt.D., LL.D., L.R.G., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary; Author of "A History of Babylonia and Assyria" in two volumes

We consider this the most readable book on the religions of Babylon and Assyria that has yet appeared. It is entrancingly interesting from start to finish. The chapter on the discovery and decipherment of the monuments and the discussion of the name Jehovah are especially good. While the insertion of the long translations from original sources may and does interfere with the rhetorical effect of the lectures, it nevertheless adds decidedly to their effectiveness for the more thoughtful class of readers. Prof. Rogers has treated so well the matters about which he has written, that we may be pardoned for expressing the hope that he will in a new edition add a chapter on the cult of the Babylonians, that is, on their temples, priests and ceremonies.

Princeton.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

NOVUM TESTAMENTVM GRAECE. TEXTVM A RETRACTATORIBUS ANGLIS ADHIBITO BREVI ADNOTATIONEM CRITICAM SVBIECIT ALEXANDER SOUTER, COLL. B. MARIAE MAGDALENAE APVD OXONIENSES IN COLLEGIO MANSICAMPENSI GRAECITATIS NOVI TESTAMENTI PROFESSOR. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano. [1910]. Pp. xxiv. 30 X 16 = 480. Price 3s. net.

The value of this edition of the Greek text of the New Testament which is thought to underly the English Revision of 1881 has been greatly increased by the critical notes of Professor Souter. The printed page is broad and pleasing in appearance; the font of type is clear and well proportioned; the spacing is good. The book is issued in three forms. Crown 8vo, cloth, price 3s. net; the same, on India paper, cloth extra, price 4s. net; and 4to, on writing paper, with large margins, price 8s. 6d. net. In issuing so good and useful a text at such a moderate price the publishers have done a service to students and teachers of the New Testament. For students who cannot secure the *editio octava major* or *minor* of Tischendorf or the edition of Baljon, this edition will take its place beside that of Westcott and Hort and that of Nestle. In comparison with these the present edition possesses certain distinctive and important features. The absence of the critical apparatus from Westcott and Hort's text is a serious hindrance to its usefulness; Nestle's variants are confined to the printed texts; Souter neglects the printed texts and gives selected variants of the primary authorities. The care and thoroughness with which Souter has done his work are worthy of high praise; but this only deepens the sense of loss resulting from the limitations of space to which his work has been subjected; for, since the supply of Tischendorf's *editio octava minor* has been exhausted, there has been urgent need of a text equipped with an adequate critical apparatus.

It is gratifying to those who have felt some misgivings about the wisdom of Von Soden in adopting a new system of nomenclature—followed as this was by the system of Gregory—to find that Souter has adhered to the old system, giving of course the equivalent notation in the Von Soden's system and extending or altering the old only in certain minor ways, the significance and value of which are manifest at a glance. He has adopted Gregory's proposal for the papyri and certain uncial manuscripts, and has shortened and improved the notation for the versions. But the chief value of the critical notes lies in the fact that they are based on the critical texts of the versions and of the patristic writers,—in the latter case in some instances on the work of collation upon which Souter is himself engaged. Another valuable feature is the use of fractions to indicate the proportion of a particular reading to the total number of citations in the patristic writers,—a feature in which undoubtedly the result of much labor is embodied and to which perhaps, together with the arduous work of verification, allusion is made in the words "nec possum dicere quot milia locorum denuo inspexerim". The notes moreover present the results of recent discovery, as in Mk. xvi. 9-20, and even of critical work not yet published, as in the use of the *editio Sahidica in Evangelio* of G. W. Horner. There are some things that might have been added,—the list of the critical editions of versions and patristic writers; the readings of the more important manuscripts of the Vulgate; and some system of exact reference to the patristic citations; but these wants do not diminish the appreciation due to the work that has been done, even if, in the words of the editor, "in elegendis vero lectionibus [and other matters] quas adnotarem etsi multam operam inpendi, omnibus scilicet satis facere nequeo et uix dubium est quin praetermissum hoc additum illud exprobraturi sint mihi lectores."

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

EUANGELIUM GATIANUM. QUATTUOR EUANGELIA LATINE TRANSLATA EX CODICE MONASTERII S. GATIANI TURONENSIS. (Paris. Bibl. Nat. N. Acqu. Nr. 1587). Primum edidit uariis aliorum Codicum Lectionibus inlustravit de uera indole disseruit. JOSEPH MICHAEL HEER. Friburgi Brisgoviae. Sumptibus Herder (B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo.). 1910. Pp. lxiv, 187. Price \$4.25.

This book is a contribution to the study of the Latin Version of the Gospels. It contains a reproduction of the text of the eighth century Codex Gatianum, of Irish origin, for some time in the monastery of St. Gatianus at Tours and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris as number 1587 nov. acqu. The edition is supplied with a facsimile-page, prolegomena, text and critical notes, and index. The prolegomena contains a discussion of the history of the Codex, a description of its external features—including orthography and grammar—and a careful examination concerning the character of its text. The consideration of the relation of the text to the Old Latin and the Vulgate leads to the conclusion that the text is mixed. Into its composition have

entered an African element—thought to constitute the basal element; a Vulgate element—which came in as early as the first corrector, who was identical with the original scribe; and a large intermediate element common to the two forms. This conclusion is expressed briefly in the words of the editor (p. xli): “Quae cum ita sint, miram equidem hanc codicis *gat* structuram ita compositam esse censeo, ut genuina illa versio antiquissima Africana, quam codici pro fundamento subesse demonstravi, iam ante s. Hieronymi aetatem ad exemplaria veteris familiae ‘Italicae’ sive ‘Europaeae’, postea etiam ad exemplaria Hieronymiana sive pura sive mixta pedetemptim emendaretur atque adeo misceretur.”

In calling attention to the improper forms (“Lectiones praecipuas nomino inconcinnas”) of the Codex, the editor seems to favor the view that the Old Latin Version is dependent on the early Syriac (pp. xlix-f) and had its origin in Rome where Justin and Tatian afford points of contact with Palestine and Syria. The question concerning the relation of the Diatessaron to the early Syriac Version is indeed raised in this connection, but the editor dismisses it with the promise of return to it in the future.

For a more detailed consideration of some of the issues in regard to the Irish codices and their relation to the Old Latin and the Vulgate, reference may here be made to F. C. Burkitt's discussion in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. xi, 1909-10, pp. 607-611.

Princeton.

WILLIAM P. ARMSTRONG.

SELECTIONS FROM THE GREEK PAPYRI edited with Translations and Notes by GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1910. Pp. xxxii, 152.

In his commentary on the Thessalonian Epistles (see PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, Vol. vii, pp. 126-131), Dr. Milligan made the first systematic use of the non-literary papyri in the exegesis of a continuous portion of the New Testament. The papyrus parallels which were there cited are highly interesting. But mere citations always seem artificial; citations are most illuminating when one discovers them for himself. Even Dr. Milligan's instructive notes cannot, therefore, take the place of an actual perusal of the papyri themselves. But how shall the papyri be read? Papyrus publications have become very extensive and very numerous, and some of them contain little more than an arid waste of accounts and receipts and the like. No doubt the philologist can discover interesting matter even in the dullest list of names, but such interest is an acquired taste. Dr. Milligan's "Selections from the Greek Papyri" is, therefore, a timely book. By bringing together fifty-five of the most interesting papyri, it will stimulate interest among a much wider circle than would ever be reached by the larger publications. Even New Testament students will be Dr. Milligan's debtors. For the field of New Testament study has become so large that specialization is necessary even within its limits. Some of the most interesting of Dr. Milligan's selections

would perhaps have escaped the notice of all New Testament students except those who are giving special attention to the new materials.

With Dr. Milligan's volume should be compared Witkowski's *Epistulae Privatae Graecae*, which appeared in the Teubner series in 1906. No doubt Witkowski's book may serve somewhat the same purpose as that which Dr. Milligan has in view. But neither work comes into competition with the other. Witkowski gives all the private letters of the Ptolemaic period that had been published up to 1905, Dr. Milligan does not confine himself to letters or to the Ptolemaic period and does not aim at completeness within any one category. The addition of a translation to every papyrus text makes Dr. Milligan's work much more useful than Witkowski's as an introduction to the study of the papyri. Perhaps in view of the general ignorance of the popular form of the Koiné which still prevails among students of Greek, a greater fulness in the notes would not have been undesirable. The brief introductions to the several texts, however, are just what was required.

The book should certainly be commended heartily to every student of the New Testament. Wearied by some of the rhapsodies of Deissmann, we might almost be tempted to lose sight of the solid value of the new texts for New Testament study. But even a few hours spent with Dr. Milligan's selections will save us from such an error. In the first place, the remarkable linguistic affinity existing between the New Testament and the newly discovered monuments of the popular Greek of the Koiné period becomes more clearly apparent through a general impression derived from reading than through a comparison of details. In the second place, the value of the new texts is by no means confined to the linguistic sphere. Not the literature of the period, but the papyri introduce us to the actual daily life of the common people; and it was the common people, or at any rate the real people as distinguished from the artificial characters of literature, to which the religion of the New Testament made its first appeal.

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J. GRESHAM MACHEN.

HORAE SYNOPTICAE: CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. By the REV. SIR JOHN C. HAWKINS, Bart. M.A., D.D. Second Edition, Revised and Supplemented. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. Pp. xvi, 223.

Eleven years have passed since the first edition of this book was issued. Years in which the modest claim of the sub-title has been abundantly justified. *Horae Synopticae* has been used by every serious worker in the problem of the origin of the Gospels. Allen in the preface to his *St. Matthew* alludes to it as the "invaluable companion of every student of the Gospels." It is mentioned in the bibliography of every dictionary article. It is recommended by professors to their students. Sir John Hawkins has reason for great gratification over the usefulness of his book in the first edition. The second edition will be used even more widely.

At the end of this period of eleven years, the Two-Document

theory seems to be even more generally established than at its beginning. One of the latest commentaries (Plummer on Matthew) describes the process which resulted in our Matthew as follows: "The unknown constructor of the first Gospel took the second Gospel and fitted on to it the contents of this collection of utterances, together with material of his own gathering." This may be taken as a typical utterance. And to the present state of opinion on this subject Hawkins' book has probably contributed as much as any book of the decade. At the same time the inadequacy of the theory to explain certain very important features of the problem is being very generally recognized. And this impression is being coupled with the recognition that there must have been some oral tradition back of our Gospels to account for certain peculiarities of reproduction. For this feeling also Hawkins is to thank. One might wish that the sections of his book which emphasize the inadequacy of written sources had been taken as seriously as have the other parts in which the need of documents to explain the facts is urged. One must confess that Part II, Sections 2 and 3 have not received the same careful study on the part of users of this book as have the sections which seem to give support to the documentary hypotheses.

In one other respect the emphasis has shifted during the period referred to. The "second source" is less frequently called the "Logia" than was the case ten years ago. It has become more and more evident (see White, *D. C. G.*, art. "Gospels") that Papias has been unduly influential in naming the sources of the material common to Matthew and Luke. Hawkins recognizes this, though still holding fast for convenience sake to the old name—"logia" instead of "Q".

This and other changes have been marked by our author by the re-writing of the section of the book which deals with the "source largely used by Matthew and Luke apart from Mark"—the only considerable changes which occur in the second edition. He has added to the lists here and there, has made a few corrections and has made in footnotes numerous references to literature. In other respects, however, the book is not much changed from its first appearance.

The first edition was noticed in this REVIEW in July, 1901, by the present writer. While recognizing the great value of some of the material presented, a belief was then expressed that the same value did not attach to all the material. Part I, for example, presents in tabular form words and phrases characteristic of each of the first three Gospels. The writer feels now as then, after a fresh study of these tables, that Sir John Hawkins is too susceptible to characteristic words. Ἀσθήρ for example is not necessarily a characteristic word of the first Gospel though it occurs four times in the first two chapters. The material determined the use of the word. Of course there are many words which are fairly in the lists but the lists are unduly padded. The conclusion which the author draws from the tabulated results of his study in this part of his book is perfectly fair—*viz.*, that the authors used their material freely. There is no fault to be found with

this—it ought rather to be emphasized even more. But the proof for it would be just as strong were the lists cut in two. Half the instances, more or less, belong to the class by which you can prove anything, and the use of which makes statistics so misleading. Twenty questionable facts arranged in a table foot up twenty. In reality, they may equal exactly nothing.

In the comment on Part III of the First Edition a question was raised as to the value of the evidence for the priority of Mark's Gospel. The question is still pertinent. All the more perhaps because the evidence has been much depended upon by other workers in this field. It is not whether one can find evidence that Matthew seems to have ameliorated certain phrases and words of Mark in the interest of Jesus's person or of the character of the apostles, or that his version of common material seems to reveal use of, reflection upon, and frequently correction of Mark's version. There is not the least question that one can make a much stronger case than Dr. Hawkins has made. Allen has, for example, in his *St. Matthew*. But the point is whether one can not make an equally strong case assuming the priority of each of the first three Gospels in turn. Dr. Hawkins has done it assuming that Mark is the first.

Mark says Jesus healed *many*. This is not miraculous enough for Matthew, who corrects *many* to *all*.

Mark says Jesus used means to cure the blind man (spittle), also that Jesus *sighed*; Matthew omits both details as derogatory to Jesus.

Mark says the Spirit *driveth* Jesus forth; Matthew prefers *led* as more respectful.

Mark makes Jesus ask—Where is *my* guest-chamber.

Matthew corrects the harshly expressed possessive into *the*.

Such instances are noted by Hawkins in great numbers. To make his book completer as a Contribution to the Study of the Synoptic Problem, he should have given corresponding instances showing the apparent priority first of Matthew, and then of Luke. For instance, opening a *Synopsis* entirely at random, the following instances fairly clamor to be regarded:

Matthew says (xiv. 9) Herod commanded that Herodias's request be granted? This is not definite enough for Mark who says that Herod sent a soldier of the guard and commanded, etc.

Matthew (xvi. 15) says that Jesus commanded to send the multitude away that they might go into the *villages* to buy food. Mark reflects that the place was uninhabited, and so corrects to the more reasonable "*country and villages*."

Matthew (xiv. 19) omits to say what became of the two fishes. Mark as presenting a fisherman's story (Peter) adds this, to him, very salient detail.

Other omissions in Matthew's account which a fisherman would naturally remark and correct are:

Matthew (xiv. 34). No mention made of the disposition of the boat.

Mark (Peter) (vi. 53) says they moored to the shore.

Matthew (xvi. 4) merely says Jesus left them.

Mark (viii. 13) says he went by boat.

In the narrative of Feeding the Five Thousand, Matthew has enhanced the miracle unnecessarily by adding "beside women and children". Mark is more temperate and omits the phrase both here and in the case of the Four Thousand as well. These corrections commend themselves also to Luke.

Matthew naturally gives much space to Peter, which Mark cannot do delicately. So he omits the incidents of Peter walking on the Water, Peter as the Rock, Peter and the Half-Shekel.

But in the account of the Transfiguration Mark relieves—as he could from more intimate knowledge—the presumption of Peter's proposal, and in a manner justifies the suggestion, by adding "not knowing what to answer, for they were sore afraid".

Also Mark's "no man save Jesus only *with themselves*" is more conservative than Matthew's simple "Jesus only".

When they came down from the Mount of Transfiguration, Matthew says they found a lad with *epilepsy*. But afterward Jesus speaks as if He were addressing a spirit, not as if He were curing a disease. Mark sees this inconsistency and rejects the more materialistic diagnosis of Matthew. He says the boy had an *evil spirit*.

Matthew (xix. 3) quotes the scribes question, "Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for *every cause*?"

Mark (x. 2) sees that the question is a broader one, and corrects to "Is divorce *ever* justifiable?"

In the story of the Rich Young Ruler, Matthew (xix. 9) inadvertently includes "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" from Jesus's summary, among the commandments. Mark corrects it, and Luke follows.

It is submitted that these instances are just as forcible as many of those cited by Hawkins to show the priority of Mark, some of them much more so. Without any doubt the list could be indefinitely enlarged, and equally without doubt as good a case could be made out for the priority of Luke. The above is submitted for what it is worth, that is—nothing. Nothing, that is, except to point the suggestion that St. Matthew may be as primary a document as St. Mark.

Elizabeth, N. J.

LOUIS BURTON CRANE.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

- CHRISTUS. Die Anfänge des Dogmas. Von Professor D. JOHANNES WEISS, Heidelberg. Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart. I Reihe, 18/19- Heft, Herausgegeben von D. theol. Friedrich Michael Schiele. Tübingen. 1909: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 8vo, pp. 88.
- CHRISTOLOGIE DES URCHRISTENTUMS. Von JOHANNES WEISS, (in Schiele's *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Vol. I. 1909. pp. 1711 sq.)
- PAULUS UND JESUS. Von JOHANNES WEISS. Berlin: Verlag von Reuther und Reichard. 1909. 8vo, pp. 72.
- JESUS IM GLAUBEN DES URCHRISTENTUMS. Von JOHANNES WEISS, Professor der Theologie in Heidelberg. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1910. 8vo, pp. vii. 57.
- JESUS VON NAZARETH. Mythos oder Geschichte? Eine Auseinandersetzung mit Kalthoff, Drews, Jensen. Vorträge, gehalten auf dem Theologischen Ferienkurs in Berlin, am 31. März und 1. April 1910, von JOHANNES WEISS, Professor der Theologie in Heidelberg. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1910. 8vo, pp. viii. 171.
- DIE GESCHICHTLICHKEIT JESU. Zwei Reden gehalten auf dem Evangelischen Gemeindeabend am 24. April 1910 zu Mannheim von Professor JOHANNES WEISS und Professor GEORG GRÜTZMACHER, aus Heidelberg. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1910. 8vo, pp. 30.

There is no representative of contemporary German thought with respect to the criticism of the Gospel history and the origins of Christianity who is better worth listening to than Johannes Weiss. Of a temper but little less radical than William Wrede himself, he approaches Wrede also in sharpness of vision, independence of spirit, and bluntness of speech. He may perhaps even not unfairly be looked upon as Wrede's successor as the *enfant terrible* of the "liberal" school. The very thoroughgoingness of his naturalism makes him bold; he abandons without fear entrenchments which have become habitual to "liberal" thought, and frankly declares untenable contentions which "liberals" have been accustomed to treat as key-positions; he is so secure in his naturalism, it seems, as scarcely to feel the need of any protection for it whatever. As we read his treatises we are sensible of coming into contact with a vigorous mind, stored with learning, bent on understanding the origin of Christianity and its record,—understanding them, of course, as a naturalistic mind understands "understanding", which means just the discovery of the complex of causes and conditions out of which they naturally proceeded and the processes by which they naturally came into being; but nevertheless understanding them,—in which is involved also the exact ascertainment of the precise things which are to be naturalistically accounted for. In both stages of this proceeding he is very instructive to us. In his attempts to determine

the exact things which are to be explained from natural causation, he displays a very unusual clearness and acuteness of perception and becomes a not unwelcome guide to many points of difficult exegesis and historical construction. In his attempts to naturalize the things thus determined, he makes unwontedly plain to us the violence of the assumptions on which alone the naturalization of the origins of the Christian religion can be accomplished.

By some chance it was brought about that Johannes Weiss gave repeated expression to his views on the great subject of the Christology of the New Testament during the early months of 1909. Then came the publication of Arthur Drews' *Christusmythe*, and in the early months of 1910 the sudden bursting into flame of the fire that it had kindled and that had been smouldering for the preceding year. Of course Johannes Weiss, in company with his fellow "liberals", was drawn into this controversy, by which the entire structure of the "liberal" Christology was thrown violently on the defensive; and in his effort to treat a sensational subject unsensationally he was led to give another expression to his christological conceptions. Thus, we have from him a series of little volumes put forth within the limits of a twelvemonth, in which his ideas concerning Jesus and the development during the New Testament period of the thought of His followers concerning Him, are stated over and over again with different audiences in view and with different and even opposite antagonists in mind. We cannot complain that we are left in any doubt as to how he himself thinks of Jesus or as to how he thinks Jesus' first followers thought of Him.

The first book upon our list, entitled *Christ: the Beginnings of the Dogma*, appears in the well-known series of "liberal" hand-books publishing under the general title of "History-of-Religion Peoples' Books for the Present-Day Christianity of Germany," and is accordingly of a semi-popular character. It undertakes to describe the development of the doctrine of the Person of Christ through the New Testament period under the successive rubrics of "the Belief of the Primitive Community," "Paul" and "the Christology after Paul"; and in doing this, it seeks to preserve a strictly historical point of view. It opens with these words: "What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He?"—so still runs to-day the burning question by which our church is split up, many earnest Christians disquieted, and not a few conscientious men hindered from entering into a close relation to the Person of Jesus and His religion. No attempt will be made in the following pages to give a definitive reply to this question: the author feels no call whatever to obtrude his convictions in this matter on others. He certainly thinks it would be desirable, however, that even those who are not theologians, so far as they are earnest inquirers and not afraid of a little labor, should come to clearness as to what the earliest witnesses to our religion really *teach* with respect to the Person of Christ, what the old difficult and obscure terms 'Son of God', 'Son of Man', 'Lord' and 'Messiah' really meant at first, and what convictions of belief the oldest confessors intended to express by them". Of course the historical objectivity

announced in this declaration is not preserved in the discussion itself (or, for that matter, throughout this declaration itself), as indeed it could not be. The author is soon found reading his own faith back into the primitive Christian community and, indeed, making his booklet a historical argument for his own point of view. In another one of the little volumes, indeed,—that entitled *Paul and Jesus* (pp. 4-5)—he drops the mask entirely and openly pleads the cause of his personal Socinianism against that Christianity which he confesses to be, and to have been since the beginning, dominant. "Primitive Christianity," he says there, "is—at least in one part of it—Christ-religion, that is, there stands at its center an inner relation of faith to the exalted Christ. This form of religion has throughout the millenniums passed as the real Christianity, and there are still to-day innumerable Christians who know and wish no other form of faith. They live in the most intimate communion of soul with the 'Lord', pray to Him and long to see Him face to face. Alongside of this there flows another religious stream which is no longer able to find a religious relation to the exalted Christ and has its full satisfaction in permitting itself to be led to the Father by Jesus of Nazareth. Both forms of religious life stand in our church side by side; it were to be wished that they would tolerate one another and that the preaching of the Gospel should not suffer violence from either of them. I make no concealment of my profession, along with the majority of recent theologians, of the second of these views, and my hope that this view will gradually become dominant in our church. But as a historian I must say that it is widely different from the ruling view of primitive Christianity, from the Pauline view. On the other hand, however, I must decidedly maintain that the historical Jesus, as far as we can perceive Him, saw His task in drawing His followers into the direct experience of sonship with God, without demanding any place for Himself in their piety."

The second publication on our list is the article on "*The Christology of Primitive Christianity*" in Schiele's new religious Cyclopaedia. It follows the same lines as the first,—of which it is in point of fact, only a somewhat condensed repetition, coinciding with it often in its very language.

From these two the fourth—*Jesus in the Faith of Primitive Christianity*,—differs only in that it professes to give account of the varieties not of doctrinal but of religious attitude towards Jesus which follow one another in the New Testament development. We read in its introductory words: "The task which my theme sets me, is not to describe the origin of the *doctrine* of Christ in primitive Christianity: it is not the oldest forms of confession and systems of belief which are the subject of this recital. I wish to try to show what place Jesus occupied in the *religion* of the earliest Christians, how their religious life stood related to Him, and what they got from their faith in Him for their practical life-task." The schematization of this new theme, however, turns on the same pivot as before—"the weighty

religious personality of Paul"; and the chief forms of the religious relation to Jesus are held to be determined by the circumstance whether they are or are not affected by the influence of Paul's modes of feeling and expression. There are treated in turn, therefore, "belief in Jesus before Paul, Paul himself, and the post-Pauline piety, especially that of John." It has been found impossible, moreover, of course, to describe religious attitudes save in terms of religious conceptions; so that what we get, is, after all, another account of the varieties of doctrinal attitude towards Jesus, reflected in the pages of the New Testament, differing from its companions only in its greater warmth of tone and the greater generality of its treatment. And even these differences are due doubtless as much to the original end for which this brochure was prepared, as to its particular subject. It was delivered as an address to the Thirteenth Conference of Christian Students held at Aargau in March 1909 and was published first in the Proceedings of that Conference, whence it has been reprinted in this pamphlet.

The pamphlet on *Paul and Jesus* is also a reprint, in this case in enlarged form, from an article which appeared in the *Monatschrift für Pastoraltheologie*. It does not, however, like the *Jesus in the Faith of Primitive Christianity*, bear its original practical purpose stamped upon its face. In form it is a purely critical inquiry in which Weiss orients himself on the question of Paul's relation to Jesus, particularly with reference on the one side to Wrede's radicalism—by which Paul was made the real founder of what we know as Christianity, a wholly new phenomenon, far more unlike Jesus than Jesus was unlike the higher forms of Jewish piety—and on the other, to the replies to Wrede of men like Kölbing, Kaftan and Jülicher. Needless to say that Weiss' attitude is far nearer to Wrede's than to that of Wrede's critics. Although he recognizes a much closer relation of Paul to Jesus, and a much more profound influence upon Paul by Jesus—insisting even (for purposes of his own, especially in order to render the naturalization of the appearance of Jesus on the road to Damascus easier) on a personal acquaintance of Paul with Jesus—he is yet as emphatic as Wrede himself in conceiving Paul's Christianity as essentially a different religion from that of Jesus, as at bottom not a development but a transformation of it: "I therefore cannot agree that Paul's Christology and doctrine of Atonement was fundamentally only a further spinning out of a thread already begun by Jesus; and from the point of view of the historian, I hold the sharp exaggerations of Wrede more right than the softenings of his opponents." (p. 8). In making this position good he necessarily requires to review the development of Christological doctrine in the early Christian community, so that there is much material in this pamphlet too which runs parallel to the discussion in its companions and Weiss is quite right in speaking of the series, as, conceived from an internal point of view, a single work, whose several sections mutually illuminate one another.

The last two documents in our list—entitled respectively, *Jesus of Nazareth: Myth or History?* and *The Historicity of Jesus*—are separated from their fellows by the circumstance that their face is turned

in an opposite direction and they make it their task to vindicate the views common to the whole series against a sudden attack from the rear. The little pamphlet on *The Historicity of Jesus* is of weighty enough contents to claim our especial attention did it stand alone. But the contribution to it of Johannes Weiss is little more than a succinct and gracefully worded repetition of the main conclusions to which he gives more extended expression in the larger document which lies before us under the name of *Jesus of Nazareth*, and with this larger treatise in our hands we may neglect the smaller. As our present concern is with Weiss's views, we may also pass over with only a word, Georg Grützmacher's lecture combined with his in the smaller publication. It is an interesting discussion from the point of view of the historian, of Drews' new religion, and a very strong reassertion as over against Drews' (and also, of course, the Social-Democratic) view of the origins of Christianity, of the principle that great religious movements are always rooted in great religious personalities, and every great religion has and must have a personal founder. With so much hint of the contents of the smaller pamphlet we may be permitted to turn from it to the larger. This gives us the manuscript basis of two lectures delivered in Berlin in the height of the excitement aroused by the exploitation of the assault upon the historicity of the man Jesus, of which Arthur Drews had become the popular exponent. But it attempts very much more than the mere refutation of this assault, as indeed it needed to do, if it was to have any substance. For the assault itself, it must be acknowledged, is in itself pitifully weak, and required rather to be exposed than answered. Its exposure is certainly admirably managed by Johannes Weiss, though it is, no doubt, drawn out to an inordinate length,—for which he duly apologizes in his preface. When he had pointed out that the fundamental trouble with Jensen is that he cannot read, expressed his sincere sympathy with Drews for his severe attack of "mythologitis, complicated with that infantile ailment etymologitis," and courteously given utterance to the hope that W. B. Smith's mathematics may be better than his theology,—he had perhaps said all that needed to be said in their direct refutation. The contention of these writers that Jesus never existed cannot by any possibility be true, and the grounds they urge in its defence are a mere mass of crudities. The "positive" theologians of Germany have therefore very properly simply passed them by unnoticed. The "liberal" theologians are not, however, in a position to do this. For, however absurd the central contention of the new school is, and however weakly it is supported, it yet lies on the face of things that the method employed by the new school in defence of it is just the method of the "liberal" theologians themselves,—their method "reduced to absurdity" no doubt, but nevertheless in all essentials the same method. It has lain in the necessity of the case, therefore, that the "liberal" theologians should orient themselves carefully with reference to the new views; and this is what Weiss undertakes in this book.

In one of his footnotes (p.16), Weiss somewhat tartly remarks, that despite his respect for Schmiedel, he must say he might have been in better business than in giving W. B. Smith's book on *The Pre-Christian Jesus*, a send-off by providing it with a preface. But Schmiedel did much more than give Smith's book a "send-off" by providing it with a preface. He very distinctly suggested in that preface that Smith's method is the "scientific" method, and his results therefore worthy of respectful consideration. Weiss himself does not find himself in a position to object in principle to the method (p. 14), or indeed to reject in the mass the results, of this new radicalism. He esteems Kalthoff's method, indeed, above that of Drews or Jensen; but this seems mainly due to Kalthoff's restriction of himself largely to generalities without proceeding to those details in the handling of which the absurdities of Drews and Jensen are most amusingly manifested. And he may distinguish between their results as more or less acceptable; but in the fundamental contentions of the new speculators he more or less fully shares. They cannot assert with more energy than he does, for example, that the whole Christ-theology of the church is mythical. He is not even in a position to offer effective opposition when they declare that this mythical Christ-theology is the aboriginal Christian theology, behind which there is—nothing. He does indeed for himself declare that there is behind it a more primitive Christianity, a Christianity to which Jesus is just a man who has been exalted after His death to world-dominion,—an "adoptionist Christology" as it is the fashion to call it. But he discovers this more primitive view by very unconvincing methods of dealing with the records, all of which, he is compelled to admit, already present the higher Christology. As the result of Weiss's own criticism of the documents it is plain enough that the adherents of Jesus from the beginning held Him to be just God manifest in the flesh; and Weiss himself has been led by this fact to seek and find a pre-Christian basis for their high Christology. He still supposes, indeed, that this was first brought into Christian circles by Paul; but there seems no reason why, if it were in the air, others than Paul might not have been affected by it, even indeed Jesus Himself, who, Weiss does not doubt, believed in His own Messiahship and might very well have believed therefore even on naturalistic grounds in His "transcendental" Messiahship. In any event, the plain truth is that when Drews asserts roundly that "the Jesus of the oldest Christian communities is not, as is commonly thought"—that is in "liberal" circles,—“a deified man, but a humanized God,” (*Christusmythe*, p. 153), he announces a fact which cannot be successfully denied, and it is the announcement of this indefeasible fact which gives all its force to the movement which he represents. One would think that, already trembling on the verge of the recognition of this fact on his own account, Weiss would in the face of its new assertion, now from the radically naturalistic and no longer "positive" side, simply admit it and adjust his theories to it.

But the establishment of this fact, we must observe, is nothing less

than the death-blow of the old "liberalism." The fundamental contention of the old "liberalism" is not merely that Jesus was a mere man, but that He was only gradually deified in the thought of His followers. The "liberal" theologians may conceal for a time the seriousness of the blow they have received by crying out loudly upon the fantastic element of the new speculation,— its attempt to eliminate the figure of Jesus altogether and to hang the whole account of the origin of Christianity on a myth. Any number of pamphlets, however, on "the burning question", "Did Jesus ever live?" will not extricate them from their difficulties. It has been driven home to men's consciousness afresh that Christianity is rooted not in the deification of a man but in the incarnation of a God, and whatever else may come out of the controversy it will no longer be possible for the bald Socinianism which has dominated German theological thought for a generation or two to rule the minds of men. Negative theology must find a better way of accounting for the origin of Christianity than by the religious impression made on men's hearts by the happy, holy life of the man Jesus who trusted Himself wholly to the love of His Father. The transition, as we have said, ought not to be difficult for men like Johannes Weiss who already stands so near to the new platform that a very short step indeed would place him fairly on it. He already believes that "there was already existing among Jews and heathen alike *before* the appearance of Jesus a Christology, that is a doctrine of the Messiah, or at least the materials for a Christology, and at the moment when the Messiah was found in the person of Jesus, the scattered elements, which lacked only a combining middle-point, gathered together like a crystal about its core" (*Christus*, pp. 4-5; Schiele's *Die Religion, &c.*, p. 1711). He already believes that this fact accounts for the rapidity of the development of a high Christology among the followers of Jesus. And he already thus reduces the rôle of Jesus in the production of this high Christology to that of a mere occasion for the crystalization of elements already in solution in contemporary thought. A very little earlier dating of the process would enable him to free himself from his unjustified assumption of a precedent "adoptionist" Christology; and it should not require a very much further attenuation of the rôle of Jesus in it to dispense with His "impression" altogether. And then, what would he have more than Kalthoff or Drews or Jensen—except a little sounder scholarship and a little more reasonable mode of picturing the origin and growth of the "Christ-myth"?

Meanwhile, however, Weiss throws himself along with his fellow "liberals" valiantly into the not difficult task of defending "the historical Jesus" from the assaults of Kalthoff and Drews and Jensen. And incidentally, while doing so, he makes clearer his own views as to the origins of Christianity and its records. It is exceedingly pleasant to see him in the unwonted rôle of an apologist; and it must be confessed that he plays the part very well. They tell us that it came to such a pass in ancient Rome that two augurs could not meet one another without smiling. But Weiss can develop quite a sound method of criticism

in the face of Jensen and Kalthoff and Drews with no apparent shame-facedness. We read for instance (pp. 83-4) this: "In theological investigation there are especially in dominant operation two manias. First, there is the tendency, before the understanding of a narrative in itself has been acquired, to go off in search of what lies behind it,—for the mythological, astral or even political antecedents. . . . I do not at all deny the value of such a world-embracing history of ideas, but it is hard to carry it out in a really scientific manner, and it is of doubtful value to trace back to primitive forms of thought complicated, refined and individual phenomena. . . . Secondly, there all too often intrudes between the source and the reader a really morbid scepticism. . . . If it is unscientific to give credence to a writer on his mere word, it is just as unscientific to refuse credence to a source where what it relates is wholly unexceptionable merely because it could no doubt possibly be fabulous. . . . Over against our evangelical tradition, not merely the miraculous stories, there is arrayed to-day a mood of what I can call nothing else but distrust, which in no way arises from the matter itself, but from an excess of critical feeling, which goes often enough hand in hand with a touching lack of critical sense. . . ." If only Weiss would follow his own prescription! For this is the same Weiss who, having framed for himself a pretty scheme of the development of the Christological thought of the Church,—a scheme which supposes Jesus to have made no claims to a divine dignity for Himself, but his followers first to have exalted Him, after His death, to the side of God as world-ruler, then, under the influence of Stoic ideas to have made Him a kind of secondary God (Paul), and finally to have put Him quite on a level with God (John)—on finding that the entire body of New Testament writers present a Jesus who was divine and claimed to be divine, seeks to wrest from them unwilling testimony to an "earlier" view of which they themselves know nothing and vigorously contradict; on finding no "direct evidence" of an "adoptionist Christology" among Christ's earliest disciples endeavors to make indirect evidence of its early prevalence out of records which certainly did not bear this meaning to those who have transmitted them to us; on finding Paul openly declaring Christ to be nothing less than God over all, just, without a scintilla of objective ground for doing so, throws out the text in which Paul makes this declaration as "inconceivable" in Paul's mouth,—that is, discordant with Weiss's theory of what Paul ought to have said (*Christus*, p. 29)! In other words, he sustains his radical position only by neglecting his own prescribed methods of sound critical procedure. Thus he seems to hang between two destinies. Either he must continue to use the methods common to him and his more radical opponents, and then he can scarcely escape their extremities of negation. Or else he must follow the sounder methods he tells them they ought to follow, and then he can surely not fail ultimately to reach "conservative" conclusions. It appears to be only a new instance of the old difficulty: "I see the good; the evil I pursue."

It would be interesting to call attention to the numerous matters of importance to the understanding of early Christian Christology on which Weiss speaks in these treatises with his usual point and force. This notice is, however, already long; and perhaps it will suffice after what has been already said, simply to transcribe, in concluding, the opening and closing words of the two formal presentations of his views upon the early development of Christological thought. In these passages, he himself sums up the substance of his findings.

The opening words we take in the form in which they occur in the article in Schiele's *Cyclopaedia*, (pp. 1711 sq.):

"It is a burning question for science as well as for the church: On what does the belief of Christianity in the Son of God, in His deity, in His names 'Lord' and 'Son of Man' rest? How did this belief come into being? The older theology did not see any problem in this question; for it was self-evident to it, that the belief of the early Christians merely gave clear expression to what Jesus Himself had witnessed of Himself. The primitive Christian Christology was, therefore, only the fit description of what was actually given in the Person of the Lord. The newer theology, since it strives to conceive the historical personality of Jesus ever more clearly as purely human, feels a problem here. How was it possible that the early Christians should so unhesitatingly and with such assurance transfer a fulness of divine predicates to a personality the human traits of which are still recognizable by us? And—to sharpen the problem—how can it be explained, that so lofty and developed a doctrine did not work itself out in a long development, but lies before us essentially complete already in the oldest literary witnesses, the Epistles of Paul? The newer theology answers: this rapid development of Christology to its highest and farthest-reaching expression has its ground in this—that, already before the appearance of Jesus a Christology existed among Jews and Hellenists alike, that is to say, a doctrine of the Messiah, or at least the materials for a Christology; and at the moment when the Messiah was discovered in the Person of Jesus, the scattered elements, which had lacked only a combining center, gathered together like crystals around their core. There was hardly needed any particular reflection; the same expressions which had been in use previously of the future Messiah, were applied at once to the present Messiah,—of course with the adjustments which were required by what was peculiar to Jesus, especially by His death on the cross; and the Christology was in substance complete. But there never was a Jewish doctrine of the Messiah, however completely worked out, which had power to transmute the longings for a better future into the joyful assurance that the fulfilment of the hope had come. And all Hellenistic speculation about the highest middle-being between God and man, could never awaken the clear and inspiring conviction that the divine Logos was present in a particular, well-known, heart-winning personality. This transformation of speculation into religious intuition, of a Messiah-idea into a Jesus-figure,—this combination of hitherto

disconnected elements of conception into a fixed middle-point,—presupposes a power of attraction of which we cannot form a strong enough notion. What a powerful indirect or direct influence must Jesus's personality have exerted upon the souls of His adherents, that they should have believed such things about Him and have been ready to die for this belief! Thus there lies at the basis of the doctrine of Christ, at every stage of its development, a belief in Jesus which we must sympathetically feel, even though often enough it seems choked by speculation."

The closing words we take in the form in which they occur in the tractate, *Christus* (pp. 87-88):—

"We have travelled over a long road: from the Jewish-Christian idea of a political Messiah to the doctrine of the heavenly Messiah and Son of God; from the adoptionistic exaltation-Christology to the doctrine of the pre-existent 'Man' and 'Son of God', and to the Logos-Pneuma-Christ; through the difficult questions of the incarnation to the conception and presentation of the Gospels. The total impression has been that primitive Christianity made use of already existing forms and ideas, in which to bring to expression, in a manner capable of being understood by all, and yet at the same time absolute and determinative, the overwhelming impression made by the Person of Jesus. Predicates were sought out which declared that there were contained in Him the ideal, and the highest religious goods. To the men of old time the predicate of deity offered itself continually for this purpose. In varied forms this was applied to Jesus. Thus, however, the problem was raised that nevertheless the true humanity which was perfectly clearly preserved in memory and tradition, should not be lost. The efforts to find a solution, which were made, are altogether incomplete and only create new questions. A chain of inexpressibly complicated and in the highest degree unhappy controversies attached itself to this, until the famous compromise-formula of 'one Person in two Natures' was invented, which can never give satisfaction, no matter how acutely it may be thought out. For the question must be continually raised afresh how it can be imagined that Godhood and manhood can be united in a single earthly person. For the modern man striving earnestly and longingly after clearness and certainty all these Christological formulas have already about them something strange and foreign, because they are products of the utterly different soil of ancient thought. What was altogether easy for an ancient man to conceive, that a man should be in reality an incarnate God,—as, for example, the Roman emperor or Antiochus Epiphanes, or as a Plato might be the Son of a God—cannot make entrance into our minds, because we feel much too sharply the unpassable boundary line that divides the divine and the human. From all the stammering attempts to express the nature of Christ in formulas, we can learn only how mighty the personality must have been which has inspired men to such a faith, stirred their phantasy after such a fashion, and occupied their thought through thousands of years. The less we are

able to understand and adopt the Christology the more strongly are we thrown back upon the Person of Jesus. To understand Him, to receive our impression from Him, to let ourselves be drawn by Him into His life with the Father,—this is more important than to find a formula of confession, in which we may be at once dogmatically correct and historically true."

These words are surely very pathetic. For what is their burden but just this: we are modern men, and as modern men simply cannot believe in a divine Christ; but we cannot do without Jesus and will therefore think of Him as greatly as we can,—as a truly heroic man. Meanwhile what is most strongly borne in on us as we read is that Weiss does not find his merely human Jesus in the records but imposes him on the records. The whole effort of the newer theology, he says, is "to conceive the historical personality of Jesus ever more clearly as purely human." The test of all conceptions of Christ is, Do they offer us a merely human Christ? The one thing that cannot be allowed is that that Man who walked the earth and has created the new world, was in any respect more than man. At all hazards we must not allow that God has entered in this Man into the sphere of human life. The rock of offense is the Incarnation: and anything is more credible than that. When we make our Socinianism the major premise of all our reasoning, is it strange that what we take out of our premises as our conclusion is just Socinianism?

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

VIE DE LA BIENHEUREUSE MARGUERITE-MARIE d'après les Manuscrits et les Documents Originaux. Par AUGUSTE HAMON, Docteur ès lettres, Lauréat de l'Académie française. Edition complète sans l'appareil ni les notes scientifiques. 8vo; xii + 520. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne & Cie. 1908. Price fr. 4.

LETTERS TO HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. By A MODERNIST. 8vo; xx+280. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1910.

THE PAPACY: THE IDEA AND ITS EXPONENTS. By GUSTAV KRÜGER, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Giessen. Translated by F. M. S. BATCHELOR and C. A. MILES. Pp. 277. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Price \$1.50 net.

These three works deal with Roman Catholicism, and are written with modern conditions in view. The first bears the *imprimatur* of Vicar General Fages in Paris, and is commended by several Cardinals, Rampolla among them, and other high dignitaries of the Papal church. The second emanates from the same sect, but the author like others of his communion before him seeks refuge in anonymity. The third is from the pen of a German protestant professor. Passion is evident in every page of the first two, the third is marked by its calmness,—the calm that follows victory.

The fortunes of the remarkable Roman mystical cult known as the Devotion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus runs parallel to those of the Society of Jesus, under whose auspices it came into existence, and

under whose protection and guidance it has attained to such prominence among papists, that to-day more than twenty million of the faithful are enrolled in over fifty thousand societies, and a rich literature is devoted to its propagation. The first work published on its behalf by the Jesuit Croiset in 1691 was condemned at Rome. In answer to another attempt to establish it in 1727 the *Promotor Fidei*, who became later Pope Benedict XIV, declared that if this devotion were permitted there was nothing to prevent similar devotion being made to the eyes, tongue and other parts of Jesus' body. It was not until 1765 that a special mass of the Sacred Heart was allowed and then only with the understanding that the heart was to be regarded only as a symbol of the divine love. This however was not satisfactory to the Jesuits who adhered to the cult during the period of their suppression, and pushed it with vigor on their restoration. In spite of, or perhaps on account of opposition from the side of the Jansenists and Benedictines and the sneer of good papists at the "entrail-worship", privilege after privilege has been accorded to the members of the societies of the Sacred Heart, and it is openly said that the real object of devotion is not the love of Christ but his real fleshly heart. In accordance with this in all images pertaining to the cult the heart must be plainly visible.

The volume of M. Hamon purports to be a scientific and critical (the critical notes are to be found in a larger edition published in 1907) account of the life of the founder of this extraordinary 'devotion', the nun Marguerite-Marie Alacoque of Paray le Monial, and of the special revelations of which she was the recipient, with the interpretation put upon them by her spiritual adviser the Jesuit priest La Colombière. It is the story of a simple-minded French girl, who suffered for several years from an unknown malady. She did not dare address our Lord but turned to the Virgin Mary and vowed to become one of her 'daughters' if she recovered. Upon this she speedily regained her health. Afterwards she was tormented, by the devil we are told, on account of her vow, doubting whether a promise made in childhood was binding for life. She disciplined herself however by such means as binding herself with knotted cords and sleeping on bare planks. St. Francis of Sales helped her too, for once when praying before his image he cast on her a peculiarly compassionate glance, and called her "my daughter". After she entered the convent she continued her "discipline", but was divinely informed that obedience to her superiors was better than even self-mortification. So she learned the great fundamental duty of regarding her ecclesiastical superior as Jesus Christ on earth. The revelations culminated in a series in which Jesus revealed to her his heart burning (the flames were visible) with love for the world and her, and gave her explicit directions concerning the new cult of the Sacred Heart. According to Marguerite-Marie's quoted words Jesus said to her "my divine heart is so impassioned with love for men and for you in particular, that it is not able to contain within itself the flames of its burning charity . . .". She continues, "Then he

demand of me my heart and I prayed him to take it. This he did, and placed it within his own adorable breast, where it appeared to me as a tiny atom which was consumed in that fiery furnace. Then he took it out again as a flame burning in the shape of a heart, and put it back again in the place from which he had taken it . . . " For several days after this "divine visit" Marguerite-Marie was quite incapacitated for ordinary duties, being "entirely intoxicated and inflamed with love"; moreover from this time on until her death she had a pain in her side which could be relieved only by blood-letting.

There is no need to continue. Such "revelations" to nuns are not uncommon and the Roman authorities have known how to suppress those that were displeasing. The importance of this life of the Blessed Marguerite-Marie consists in this, that it shows the kind of morbid sensuous piety that is cultivated among papists by those now in control of the Vatican. One bishop writing to M. Hamon from Rome congratulates him on his achievement and adds that "conscientious scholars will no longer be able to speak of nervousness or hyperaesthesia in connection with Marguerite-Marie as there is not the slightest sign of either". We cannot help recalling that from this same circle such explanations are given of Martin Luther's struggles in his early days.

That all Roman Catholics are even yet not committed to the cult of the Sacred Heart goes without saying; but few of them now-a-days would dare to write openly the words "they (the Jesuits) are the chief supporters of special devotions, of arithmetical piety, of debilitating excess in what is called spiritual direction, and of the ghastly vulgarity of worshipping a physical fleshly heart". This sentence is taken from *Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X*, and are characteristic of the book. We confess that we approached this work with misgiving as one generally does anonymous writings. But whoever the author be,—the editors vouch for him as a priest of the Roman Catholic church,—he has produced quite a remarkable book. It is not often to-day that one hears such an impassioned plea for liberty within the Roman Church. The author says nothing new. Protestants, especially those of the continent of Europe, who feel the pressure of Rome, know perfectly well that their old enemy is still the same; we in English speaking lands who see hardly more than the excellent work of parochial priests are apt to forget the papal claims and regard as bigotry any attempt on the part of Protestants to revive the discussions of the Reformation. But here is an attack from within the Roman Church itself second to none in the completeness of its criticism, and the fierceness of its denunciation. The writer has a more than usual command of the English language, and uses all his ability in this respect in a way that reminds one of nothing less than the works of pre-Reformation would-be reformers. The points of attack are the old familiar ones: the Papacy and freedom of conscience, the Inquisition, Papal claims to sovereignty over civil governments, indulgences, celibacy, freedom of the intellect, the Jesuits and the present tyranny, and others. Without descending to diatribe or the coarseness of many anti-Roman

works the author endeavors to show,—and does show,—from authoritative documents and modern instances that the Papacy is to-day essentially the same as in the Middle Ages. He thinks therefore that “that antipathy to Rome” which has been for three centuries so striking a feature in the religious life of the most prosperous and enlightened nations of the world . . . does not rest on blind bigotry or unreasonable malice, but is based upon the notorious past history and the perfectly evident present policy of the Roman See”.

The author has not escaped the temptation to which so many of his co-religionists on the continent have fallen victim. In the second part of his volume entitled “Faith and Criticism” he pleads not so much for freedom of inquiry, as for one particular view of dogma and the Scriptures. In Old Testament criticism he may be roughly classed as a pan-Babylonist and in the New Testament he follows those who lay emphasis upon the eschatological elements of our Lord’s teaching, and derive these from the current views of His times. To him Christ is not God; “that he was God, that awful Infinite beyond the spaces of the stars, and beneath the foundations of the world—impossible!” But Jesus as the foremost of God’s prophets and the sovereign spirit among humanity’s saints and martyrs; Jesus as our brother has a meaning and a divine meaning for us,our divinest Witness to things spiritual and unseen, the holiest Preacher of human charity, the ever-living bond of human brotherhood”. Similar statements are familiar enough from other quarters; but they are unparalleled, as far as we know, in the literature of American Roman Catholicism.—It is not many years since Dr. Döllinger out of wide knowledge of the Jesuits,—whom he called “incarnate superstition united with despotism,”—and after the elevation of Liguori to the dignity of Doctor Ecclesiae, bitterly wrote, “such a condition cannot last long, sooner or later there must come somewhere a reaction for the better, though the where and the how is hidden from our eyes”. Such a reaction is to be seen now in France and elsewhere. Are we also to have one in America?

Quite different in tone is Prof. Krüger’s short sketch of the Papacy. It is neither subservient to party nor belligerent. It is neither heralded by the approbation of superiors nor sheltered behind anonymity. It is a good example of the intellectual freedom so valued by Protestants and so earnestly desired by ‘A Modernist’. In two hundred and sixty-six pages of large print one cannot discuss the history of the papacy in detail. Prof. Krüger has not attempted to do so. Indeed one great merit of the book is that *all* detailed discussion is lacking. What we have is the broad outline of the fortunes of the Roman idea from its inception until to-day. The lights and the shadows are both apparent. The modest beginnings, the need of leadership in the west, a few notable men in the chair of St. Peter, the political compact with the Franks, the forged decretals, the alternation of evil and reform, the Hildebrandian program and its consummation in Innocent III, the early futile attempts on the part of Europe to throw off the yoke of Roman bondage, the Reformation, and the defeats of more recent

years down to the establishment of the Italian kingdom against the 'papal protest in 1870,—about this framework every history of the Papacy must be built; but it has been Prof. Krüger's good fortune to present all these features in well balanced proportion and in such fashion that their relations to contemporary history and that of the papacy as a unitary whole are evident, and to make of the whole a story that one may read with profit and enjoyment in an evening. The reader will not find much about dogma and religion. To Prof. Krüger these do not belong to the papacy as such. It is a purely human excrescence marring the fair form of Christianity, but one which, although now under control and confined, is neither innocuous nor quiescent. On the contrary Prof. Krüger notes a recrudescence of Romanism in Germany in the last forty years, and one cannot doubt that he had the *Kultur-Kampf* of the fatherland in mind all the while he was writing. He is not belligerent but he is militant, if the term may be applied to the soldier on guard. Nor does he doubt the outcome. He quotes indeed Macaulay's prophecy, but only to follow it with the parable of the husbandman whose soul was required of him as he prepared larger barns. I have not compared the translation with the original, but the English is flowing, and I have noticed few places which seem to require correction. On page 20 "sixth commandment" should obviously be changed to "seventh commandment" to suit the English enumeration.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

MICHAEL SERVETUS, HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS. By CARL THEOPHILUS ODHNER, Professor of Church History, Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pa. Philadelphia: Press of J. B. Lippincott Company, 1910, pp. 96. Price 50 cents.

This little Swedenborgian book will show that Michael Servetus was the only man of his time capable of reforming the church and that he was prevented from doing so by the virulent hatred of John Calvin. In the first part the author tells the story of Servetus' life and death, and of John Calvin's experiences in the spiritual world as revealed by Swedenborg. The second part is given to Servetus' Theology, in which it is shown that he continued the work begun by Origen and completed by Swedenborg. He "came as near to the Doctrine of genuine truth as could be possible to any man, short of immediate Divine Revelation" (p. 88). He was a forerunner of Swedenborg on earth, and perhaps was charged with teaching the genuine truths of the Word to the simple souls "under the altar" in the other world, to prepare them for the Last Judgment that took place in the spiritual world in 1757. The author cites many passages from Servetus' works to show agreement with the teachings of Swedenborg.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

CALVIN MEMORIAL ADDRESSES. Delivered before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States at Savannah, Ga.,

May, 1909. Published by the Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Va. 1909, pp. 286.

This volume contains an account of the exercises held by the General Assembly at Savannah in 1909 in celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Calvin's birth. More particularly these were the presentation to the General Assembly of a handsome gavel (of which a picture is given), made of wood from the tower of St. Peter's Cathedral, Geneva, Calvin's church, and the delivery of twelve addresses on topics related to Calvin's life, labors and influence. Eight of these were delivered by members of the church in assembly, most of them naturally ministers, but President Denny of Washington and Lee University and the Honorable Frank T. Glasgow of Lexington, Va., bear witness to the loyalty of the laymen. The Northern Church is represented by Dr. Minton and Dr. Warfield; Scotland sent Prof. Orr; and France, or rather Geneva itself, Dr. Charles Merle d'Aubigne. Of course Calvin and his activities have to be treated under many headings. Only four or five of the addresses have to do directly with his theology proper, one discusses his teachings on Infant Salvation and sufficiently refutes the calumnious remarks that have been and still are current concerning his doctrine of elect infants, one deals with his contributions to Church Polity, another with his services to exegesis, another with his relation to education, another with his influence upon the political development of the world, and so forth. Of course there are repetitions, and there are things left unsaid that might have been said. The modern world, whether criticizing or lauding, pays Calvin the compliment of reckoning him one of ourselves. The standards that are applied to his contemporaries are felt to be inadequate in his case, and yet the greatness of the man is all the more evident when he is set in his proper temporal surroundings. The mission to South America takes on new significance when compared with the activity (or lack of it) of other Protestants of his time; his commentaries shine with additional splendor when compared with those of contemporaries, for example, Luther's. Only Calvin is 'condemned when Servetus' death is mentioned, it is forgotten or excused that Catholics and Protestants alike applauded the deed in the sixteenth century. Of course the feeling back of all this is correct. Calvin does belong to our own times, even more than to his own. These scholars who gathered in Savannah from all over this country perceived it clearly. They see Calvinism not only in the church and in the individual but in our institutions, civil and educational. It may be a slothful Calvinism or impure; but there is no thought expressed that Calvinism is on its last legs, or dying, on the contrary they believe that it possesses the power, as nothing else does, of solving the religious, the missionary, and the political problems of the day.—We wish there had been an address on the "Friendship of Calvin", for one of the things that arrests the reader when he looks more carefully into the life story of this alleged cold-blooded, logical dictator, is that he tied men to him with bonds of love that refused to

be broken. Dr. d'Aubigne indeed mentions it, but it was worthy of fuller treatment.

The volume is illustrated with portraits of Calvin (three of them), of the speakers, and photographic reproductions of St. Peter's Cathedral, the Calvin Monument in Geneva, and others. It is regrettable that more care was not given to the proof-reading, for otherwise the volume is well prepared—Calvin's seal adorning the cover.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE AND CURRENT RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS. By JUNIUS B. REMENSNYDER, D.D., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa. Lutheran Publication Society. 1909. Pp. x. + 333. Price \$1.25.

The object of Dr. Remensnyder in this volume is "to show that the Christian faith, though varying in adaptation to the changing conditions of men and society, has ever preserved its essential identity". He proposes to do this by comparing the post-Apostolic age with our own. The treatment is topical. In thirty-three chapters almost as many subjects are handled—covering dogma, government, policy and custom. On the whole the work is rather a study of modern conditions than an essay in history. There is no attempt to give a critical and concatenated account of the teaching of the Apostolic Fathers. Literature of a later period is also admitted such as the Apologies and the Constitutions of the Twelve Apostles and it is not quite clear on what principle Dr. Remensnyder has accepted some statements and rejected others. The highest respect is shown for the Apostolic Fathers proper. "They had a special baptism of the Holy Ghost." Clement of Rome is identical with him of Phil. iv, 3; the Epistle of Barnabas is from the pen of Paul's companion; there is no objection to the early tradition that the author of the Shepherd of Hermas was Paul's friend mentioned in Rom. xvi. 14, and that Ignatius was the little child whom our Lord placed in the midst of his disciples. Clement, Barnabas and Polycarp wrote their letters before John wrote his Gospel. The congregations from the beginning were ruled by a bishop or pastor (p. 95). The church rightly exercised authority, as in the matter of deciding the limits of the Canon (p. 117) and in the decisions of General Councils (p. 118). The presbyter and the bishop were originally the same, but episcopacy emerged almost immediately and is "probably the wisest form of the Christian ministry" (p. 110). "As to the manner of calling ministers, they were appointed by the bishops or presbytery, with the consent and approval of the congregation" (p. 110). Church services were held "in a consecrated chamber or house. The place must be holy to the Lord, set apart from common and unhallowed uses" (p. 189). "The minister as he ascended to the pulpit prepared himself by a moment of silent prayer, a habit that no doubt guarded him from introducing secular themes, and wandering into current sensational discussions, which might attract the crowd of superficial curiosity seekers" (p. 192). However excellent this may be as advice or sug-

gestion for modern preachers, we cannot think it a faithful reproduction of post-Apostolic conditions. Indeed, in general Dr. Remensnyder would have made a stronger case had he omitted the sections of his book that have to do with the details of worship and the machinery of the church in the post-Apostolic age. These things occupied small space in the mind of the early church; their faith in the risen Lord, their hope of glory, their fellowship and joy in the Holy Ghost were the outstanding characteristics. And indeed Dr. Remensnyder knows this too, and he has done good service in pointing out once more that for the early church, Christianity was a supernatural religion beyond possibility of doubt, a revelation of God miraculously given and confirmed by events in the external world to which there were competent witnesses, that it was therefore of necessity a religion of authority, above all that it centred on Jesus Christ who was regarded and worshiped as God. And Dr. Remensnyder's conclusion is perfectly just, the exclusion of the supernatural from Christianity and the humanizing of Jesus Christ to the exclusion of his divinity is not a return to the primitive faith but the destruction of it.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY. By the late CHARLES BIGG, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Edited by I. B. STRONG, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1909. Pp. viii. 518. Price 12s. 6d. net.

There is a certain sadness connected with reading this volume. The Preface informs us that two days after he sent his sheets to the press Professor Bigg was dead. We have to mourn another of those broad-minded, well read, kindly scholars, whom England from time to time produces, and who are characterized by a winsome charity and sanity, that commands the admiration of all and stimulates some to better things. What changes might have been introduced in the footnotes, had the author lived to see his work through the press, we cannot tell, but there is no doubt that the book is substantially as he wished it to stand. He told the Secretary to the Delegates so sometime before his death. We shall probably be not far wrong if we guess that the chapters which are here published were delivered as lectures. The style is popular, the method of treatment broad, detailed discussions are absent, of footnotes even there are very few. If our conjecture is right Oxford has lost not only a scholar but also an excellent teacher. The work of the editor has been well done. Footnotes have been verified, he tells us, but new ones added only when imperative. A sufficiently full index is appended.

Professor Bigg is always interesting and nowhere more so than in the present volume. He exhibits in almost every sentence a sympathy for humanity and an understanding of the feelings and intellectual processes, but especially of the feelings, of the learned and the ignorant alike. He can describe Bardesanes as "a poet who is

not always devoid of charm, and a philosopher who can sometimes be understood" (p. 446), but this is not typical of his attitude toward men and things. One feels that he would find something interesting in every acquaintance. It is thus that he writes the history of the early church, introducing us to men with whom he has been long and well acquainted, and of whom, in spite of their idiosyncracies, he is fond. This does not say that Prof. Bigg has always understood correctly his old acquaintances; misunderstandings are only too possible between friends. Nor does it say that he enters equally sympathetically into the life of each; that would be too much to expect. But rarely has there appeared such a sympathetic and we may add sane presentation of the story of that wonderful epoch of church history which falls between the first persecution under Nero and the cessation of governmental opposition to Christianity. And the secret of the charm is not the lucid and almost colloquial style, or the wide knowledge of the literature of the period, both of which are certainly important, but that the actors in this great drama, whether Christian, heretic or heathen are viewed and portrayed as men with minds and passions like our own. Had we been there we should have acted as they did; had they been born into our times they would have been as we are. This is the dominant note of the book. Of course this brings Prof. Bigg into conflict with the views of those writers who by emphasizing some abnormality of belief or conduct in the early centuries would almost persuade us that the Christianity of early days had little in common with our conception of it, and that human beings of eighteen centuries ago were so different from ourselves that we cannot enter into their experiences except under the expert guidance of the specialist. Professor Bigg's book is an excellent corrective to this sort of thing, and one that comes opportunely. And it is to the author's very great credit that he has been able to walk firmly the path before him. Well informed as he incidentally shows himself of the problems that beset every step, he has been neither hastened nor delayed, neither unduly attracted nor repelled by innovations. The ordinary reader may not perceive what careful reading has preceded the statement that there is no trace of a 'charismatic ministry' in post-Apostolic times, (pp. 75, 267) or that preaching is not a survival of ancient prophecy (p. 425), or that Moutanism was not mainly reactionary but new and progressive (p. 185). Prof. Bigg like all men has his favorites. His are the Alexandrines. We are prepared for this by his earlier work on *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, and it appears all the more evident in the present work, where we can compare his treatment of others. Tertullian suffers in this respect. Three pages are devoted to his services to theology (391-4). He was a Stoic materialist and unable to distinguish between Eternity and Time. He was quite untouched by Platonic metaphysics. For him therefore the result is necessarily posterior to the cause, A belief in the eternal personality of the Logos was impossible for him; His personal existence is co-terminous with the period of His prola-

tion. This is indeed the view of many scholars but seems hardly to do justice to Tertullian (see the developed argument in an article by Dr. Warfield in this REVIEW, Jan. 1906, pp. 9 ff.). With Tertullian Prof. Bigg classes Hippolytus and Novatian as the three great ante-Nicene puritans, who over-emphasized the Divine Will, and thus prepared the way for Calvin and Pascal. Athanasius, led by his predecessors in Alexandria, who had in turn learnt from Plato that the Good is the highest of all ideas, restored to theology the full meaning of the words Father and Son. It is evident too that Prof. Bigg has little sympathy for the Gnostics. To him they are pessimistic and destructive. There are not many writers to-day that would venture to say that their Genealogies were absurd (p. 135) not only from our standpoint but also from that of their own contemporaries. Indeed we feel that Prof. Bigg has underrated the power of Gnosticism when he says that the Christian Church feared it because it was not conscious of its own strength. His information of this great movement is drawn almost exclusively from early Christian writers, and while he presents us with a very readable synthesis of its main teachings, there is little said of the part played in it by the religions of a remoter past, and the charm of syncretism for the citizen-of-the-world in Asia, Alexandria or Rome.

As the editor remarks in the preface, there are points as to which we would wish for a more complete discussion. But this is of minor importance. What we have here is not a series of *Auseinandersetzungen*—we have no word for it—but the well rounded result of much reading and more reflection on the part of a warm hearted, level headed Christian. Professor Bigg brings his work to a close with the question, "What is the essence of Christianity?" and answers it with the words of Clement of Rome, "The Church are 'they which are called and sanctified by the will of God through Jesus Christ.' 'Let us fix our eyes on the blood of Christ and understand how precious it is unto His Father, because, being shed for our salvation, it was for the whole world the grace of repentance.' . . ." And what is the obstacle which prevents Christianity from gaining a perfect triumph? "It is, in fact, human nature, which is older than either Christianity or Paganism." Not necessarily the malignity of human nature or its stupidity, but "sometimes its animalism, its lusts; sometimes its individualism, its covetousness; sometimes its inertia or hatred of change, even for the better; sometimes its one-sided experience, the philosopher, in his comfortable study or his secluded laboratory forgetting his solidarity with the ignorant and suffering masses outside." "Tertullian thought it a good omen of victory when he heard the men in the street saying, 'see how these Christians love one another. . . . When the man in the street again talks as he did in Carthage in the beginning of the second century, the Church will be ready for a new and even more arduous crusade in a democratic and scientific age. There is no enterprise too bold for those who faithfully carry the Cross of Christ.'"

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE. By ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON, M.A., S.T.D., LL.D. of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, Philadelphia. The Westminster Press. 1910. Pp. 317. Price, \$1.50; postage, 10c. extra.

The Church of England, of which our Protestant Episcopal Church is a daughter, presents a curious spectacle, and one that easily might seem ridiculous to those who are ignorant of the force of custom and the restrictions of conventional usage in that country. It is established in England, but ultimately controlled by the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland; its highest dignitaries may be nominated by a non-conformist or a Jew. As a church it is divided over the theory of its priesthood and sacraments, and uncertain as to auricular confession, baptismal regeneration, the fate of unbaptized children, and other matters of importance. Its clergy are required to subscribe its articles of religion and allowed to flout them. It is unacknowledged by other episcopalian churches, and it does not acknowledge other protestant ones. And to-day it is calling for church unity, and announcing that it holds the middle ground upon which all may stand. A half-way house, however, is not always a stopping place; and the broad toleration, within which all are to unite, is limited by the High Church view of the historic episcopate. It is true that this is not *de fide*, but it is at present sufficiently strong to block any movement towards union with non-episcopalian churches. The persistence of High Churchism is not due to historical investigation. Not to speak of non-episcopalians, the researches of Hatch, Hort, Lightfoot, Bigg, Gwatkin and other scholars of the Church of England (we may even put Bishop Gore among them), should be enough to convince observers that the "historic episcopate" has no apostolic basis; while those who have studied the words of Christ and his Apostles, will agree with the sentiments expressed by Bishop Lightfoot in his famous essay on *The Christian Ministry*, "The Kingdom of Christ, not being a kingdom of this world, is not limited by the restrictions which fetter other societies, political and religious. It is in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal. . . . It has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries, because every time and every place alike are holy. Above all it has no sacerdotal system. . . . Each individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To Him immediately he is responsible, and from Him directly he obtains pardon and draws strength." In spite, however, of centuries of discussion there is still a not inconsiderable section of the Episcopal churches in England and America that hold stubbornly to the thesis that episcopacy is of the *esse* of the Church, that the bishop holds office (or orders) in virtue of his consecration (or ordination) at the hands of other bishops, who in turn received it from others, back to the apostles whose successors they are, and who received their ordination from Christ himself. But High Churchism is something more than a belief in sacerdotalism and the "historic episcopate". Indeed, we may say that to the laity at least these are of small importance compared with liturgical forms and ceremonies, and the dogmas back of them vaguely felt rather than clearly expressed.

In England this is all undoubtedly connected with the aristocratic constitution of society and the glamor of the past which belong to the old world. But it is more difficult to account for the growth and persistence of such ideas in our own country where we think that we believe that all men are born free and equal, and where a bishop is more frequently addressed as "bishop" than "my lord". Imitation may partly explain it: the elaborate ritual with its suggestion of mystery appeals to many, and a human mediator and material means of grace may be acceptable to those who have not comprehended the freedom of the Gospel. But is it possible that the growth of the Episcopalian Church in the United States is due also in part, as a recent French traveller remarks, to the fact that "*c'est une Eglise chic*"? Is our democracy already invaded by aristocratic notions, and are these making their presence felt in matters of religion?

The book before us does not deal with such general questions, but rather with that construction of history upon which High Churchism ultimately rests. It has reference to the theory of the historic episcopate advanced by the High Church party of the Church of England and of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. Only in so far as the Roman Catholic view illustrates or opposes this does it enter into the discussion. The purpose of the book is to pave a way for a better understanding between, and a union of, the Protestant churches of Christendom. The author sees rightly that one main objection to such union to-day is the emphasis laid by many Episcopalians upon the validity of orders episcopally conveyed and the invalidity of non-episcopalian ordination. Although the work is put forward as an irenicon, no compromise is proposed. Dr. Thompson is a presbyterian and writes avowedly from that standpoint. He is persuaded that presbyterianism is right and monarchic episcopacy wrong, and this conviction is evident on every page of his work. The book is divided into eleven chapters. The first deals with the constitution of the church of the New Testament, the next two are devoted to the Apostolic Fathers, the fourth and fifth trace and account for the gradual establishment of the monarchic episcopate, the sixth discusses the change in the duties of the bishop, "from pastor to prelate," the seventh deals with the nature of the episcopate of the middle ages, and the following three are devoted to developments inside the Church of England, the last brief chapter surveys the present conditions and ends with a question mark but not without a note of hope.

This is a large program for a work of only three hundred pages. There is much left unsaid that might have been said, and discussions of subsidiary and disputed points have been, of course, crowded out. In spite of this, however, one rises from a perusal of the book with the feeling that the author has covered the ground sufficiently, and amply made good his main thesis; namely, that the monarchic diocesan episcopate is a mere invention of men, and a departure from the form of government of the early church. One excellent thing about the book is its many quotations, not only modern scholars of England,

Germany and France, but also mediaeval and ancient writers being allowed to speak in their own words. Particularly valuable is the catena of quotations from English writers (twenty-six of them) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries adduced to show that "many of the greatest and most honored of the doctors of the Reformed Church of England did not make for their Church that extravagant claim to exclusively valid orders and sacraments which was developed by the later Stuart divines of the Church of England, and revived by the Oxford writers some sixty years ago," and which confirms Cardinal Newman's statement that "apostolical succession, its necessity and its grace, is not an Anglican tradition, though it is a tradition found in the Anglican church."

The three important periods in this discussion are of course the apostolic age, the Reformation and the Oxford movement. With regard to the last two Dr. Thompson has done all that is requisite. He has no difficulty in showing that the Reformed Church of England regarded itself as protestant, and freely accepted ministers of other protestant churches without reordination. The modern High Church views of the historic episcopate are an excrescence for which Laud, the Restoration and the Oxford movement are mainly responsible. Of his treatment of the early church we cannot speak with undivided praise. The explanation of James' position in the church at Jerusalem is avoided rather than solved by the statement that James was one of the twelve apostles—a conclusion not at all necessary from Paul's statement in his Epistle to the Galatians. The imagery of the Apocalypse is admitted as evidence, but unequally. The angels of the seven churches are explained as personifications of the seven churches, and therefore without bearing on the question of monarchic episcopacy, but the four and twenty elders about the throne are regarded as a celestial counterpart of the earthly presbytery, and Dr. Thompson does not seem to be aware of the argument that if the celestial elders correspond to an earthly presbytery, the celestial throne must have its counterpart in the bishop's chair, which is quite the Ignatian idea. Nor is Dr. Thompson willing to admit the establishment of the episcopate as early as Ignatius. Hegesippus he dismisses as sectarian; and although he reckons more seriously with Ignatius' letters, and shows that even if genuine they are far from proving the existence, much less the apostolic sanction, of diocesan episcopacy, still he needlessly, as we think, casts discredit upon their genuineness in any form. In short we cannot help feeling that the author's obvious desire to prove his thesis has obscured for him some of the arguments which may be urged on the other side, and induced him to take an attitude toward disputed questions which lays him open to attack. Another example of the same thing is traceable in his evident dislike of the diocesan system. He thinks apparently that nothing but harm has come from it. He insists rightly, of course, that the bishop's duty was the cure of souls and that this means preaching and pastoral work. Every departure from that he deprecates, apparently without noting that

he would thereby prevent ordained ministers of any denomination becoming teachers, superintendents, secretaries of boards, etc. In accounting for the rise of episcopacy he refuses to accept the explanation usually given, namely, that a more compact organization was better able to combat heresy, and he fails to note that the rule of several coördinate presbyters could and did, as in Corinth, lead to jealousy and division. The church is human.

In spite of these points, however, at which we are compelled to differ with him, Dr. Thompson has produced a work well worth reading and one that will carry conviction with it. We cannot believe that that form of High Churchism which is characterized by a belief in the historic episcopate as of the *esse* of the Church has any real hold upon the American people. Differences of temperament and training will always call for diverse liturgical forms, diverse music, diverse architecture. But these things are not essential and nobody now-a-days thinks they are. If our episcopalian brethren could agree among themselves in regard to the historic episcopate we might look forward more hopefully to a union of the Protestant churches, and we have no doubt that wherever Dr. Thompson's book is known this end will be found.

Princeton.

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

THE GOSPEL OF THE HEREAFTER. By J. PATERSON-SMYTH, B.D., LL.D., Litt.D., D. C. L. New York, Chicago, Toronto, London, and Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1910. Pp. 224.

Dr. Paterson-Smyth, who is the Rector of St. George's, Montreal, and who was formerly Professor of Pastoral Theology at the University of Dublin, is the author of a number of religious and theological works.

In this volume he attempts to give a general outline of Christian Eschatology. He begins by seeking to establish the reality of the Self and the immortality of the soul, over against Materialism, and then goes on to depict the life of the soul after death. This future life is discussed in two stages which constitute the two main divisions of the book.

Part I is entitled "The Near Hereafter," and in it the author takes up the questions pertaining to the state of the soul after death and previous to the general Resurrection and the Final Judgment. He concludes that this future state is a conscious one, in which the soul has memory, self-consciousness and personal identity. The future state is, generally speaking, a happy state, though it is an "intermediate" state and one in which the soul is not in heaven, but in an "intermediate place." It is, however, a state of existence in which the soul goes through a process of "pain" and "purification," which fits it for its final state in heaven.

Part II, which occupies only the last forty pages of the book, is

entitled "The Far Hereafter." This is divided into three chapters, entitled The Judgment, Hell, and Heaven.

The author says at the outset that he will keep distinct the teaching of Scripture and what he deems to be legitimate inferences from that teaching. In this respect he has to a large extent succeeded, but there is too little of the Scripture teaching, and too much of his own inferences, many of which are not legitimate inferences but mere speculations. We feel compelled to dissent from nearly all of Dr. Paterson-Smyth's views on these points, on the ground that they do not seem to us to be in harmony with the Scripture teaching.

Take for example his view of the imperfection of the state of the soul after death. This imperfection the author conceives to consist in the supposed facts that the believer in Christ is ethically imperfect after death, and that he is not so near to God and Christ as he afterwards will be, rather than in the fact that the soul is without a body. And in the chapter on death Dr. Paterson-Smyth speaks of death as a release from the body, more after the fashion of Greek metaphysics than of the Scripture teaching.

Or look at the argument put forward to prove that there is a progressive "purification" in the future life. Here the author draws a false inference from correct premisses. It is true that Christians die imperfectly sanctified; it is true that there is nothing in the fact of death itself to complete the process of sanctification; but unless sanctification is a purely naturalistic process, it does not by any means follow that the soul must pass through a "purifying" process after death. Moreover the author's idea that by means of death conscience and memory work better, and that they are the causes of sanctification, is purely fanciful. According to the Scripture the Holy Spirit is the efficient cause of sanctification, and His instrument is the Truth.

Equally unsatisfactory is Dr. Paterson-Smyth's discussion of the subject of future probation. He argues in favor of future probation for those who have not heard the Gospel in this life, basing his position on the fact that infants dying in infancy, idiots, and those who have never heard the Gospel can neither accept nor reject Christ. This is a truly remarkable argument. If it is to have any validity, it must rest on some such presuppositions as the following: God intends to save every individual; no person can be saved without exercising faith in Christ; no sin makes a man worthy of condemnation except the rejection of Christ. None of these presuppositions can be supported from the Scripture, and without them this argument for future probation breaks down completely. Furthermore, the author has no sooner asserted the doctrine of future probation than he proceeds to take it back by saying that, after all, one's fate is determined in this life, because one's attitude to Christ in the future life is determined by the way in which one follows or neglects the dictates of conscience in this life; and what is still more extraordinary, this is supposed to be what Paul means to say in Rom. ii. 14 *sq.*, where it is

perfectly evident that the Apostle is saying that conscience renders the Gentiles without excuse and worthy of condemnation. Paul says nothing here in the remotest degree resembling the meaning which Dr. Paterson-Smyth reads into his words. The result, however, appears to be that the author finally asserts future probation really only for infants dying in infancy and for those mentally incompetent to exercise faith in this life, the presupposition being the entirely unwarranted one that no person, whether infant, idiot, or adult, can be saved without exercising faith. Dr. Paterson-Smyth apparently conceives of salvation as depending solely on the will of man, and not on the power and grace of God.

Similar defects in argument and errors in regard to the Scripture truths are to be found in the second part of this volume, the discussion of the subject of future punishment being especially unconvincing and unsatisfactory.

The most satisfactory chapter in the entire book is the first chapter which seeks to establish the reality of the self over against materialism.
Princeton. C. W. HODGE.

THE NEXT LIFE: LIGHT ON THE WORLD BEYOND. By the Rev. J. REID HOWATT. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1910. Pp. 198.

This is a brief and popular discussion covering the whole ground of Christian Eschatology. As the author says in the preface, it is not a "theological text-book," nor a "learned treatise." It is intended to be "more suggestive than exhaustive." Mr. Howatt has succeeded in writing an outline of Christian Eschatology for the most part clear and readable, though we cannot agree with his doctrinal views at every point. He has to a considerable degree the gift of illustration, and usually avoids fanciful interpretations of the Scripture, though we should be obliged to differ with his exegesis at some points. On the whole, the book is sane and cautious but at times the author seems to go beyond what has been revealed to us on these subjects; and at times he seems to regard analogies and illustrations drawn from Nature as proofs of truths which from their nature can only be based upon the Scripture.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

A COMMENTARY ON THE HOLY BIBLE. By Various Writers. Edited by The Rev. J. R. DUMMELOW, M.A., Queens College, Cambridge. Complete in one volume. New York: The Macmillan Company. Cloth, 8vo, pp. 1092. Price, \$2.50 net.

The difficult task of condensing to the compass of a single volume illuminating comments on every book and chapter of the Bible has been seriously attempted by this editor, assisted, as he has been, by a large number of able contributors.

The introductory section of 153 pages contains twenty-nine general articles, designed to throw light upon the times, the themes, and the problems of the Bible. These discussions reflect the doctrinal and critical positions of the various contributors. The theological teachings are generally conservative. As to critical discussions, the endeavor is declared to be to incorporate the most assured results of modern scholarship, "even when those results differ considerably from traditional views." The book of Ruth is dated "during or after the exile"; Daniel is likewise post-exilic, written in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, "its apparent outlines of the future are really past history;" Esther "has probably some historical foundation but is marked by inaccuracies and exaggerations;" Ecclesiastes "was written about 180 B. C." Jonah is a parable "written three or four centuries after the death of the prophet whose name it bears;" the Pentateuch is composed of three documents, JE, P, D, the most important of which must have been composed "after the return from the captivity in the days of Ezra;" the four closing chapters of Second Corinthians form a separate letter, ante-dating the opening chapters; etc, etc. These views are to-day familiar and popular; but to many it will seem unwise to advance them in a volume, the nature of which allows no space for their adequate discussion, and quite unfortunate in a commentary which is designed for the ordinary reader who is only beginning his study of the Bible.

However, as to the Deity of Christ, the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, the Trinity, and other great Biblical doctrines, the writers are in harmony with the teachings of evangelical Christianity.

In addition to the general articles which form the first section of the volume, each book is prefaced by a brief, but often suggestive introduction. The full text of the Scripture is in no case given; only those words or phrases are quoted upon which some comment is to be made; and in the case of the New Testament Epistles the treatment includes not only a careful analysis, but also a carefully composed paraphrase of the individual sections. In view of the narrow limits which the plan of the commentary allows, the selection of passages or words for comment or discussion has been in the main felicitous, and unnecessary explanations or divergent views largely avoided.

To the commentary a series of maps is appended. The typography and general appearance of the volume are pleasing; and the contents, as a whole, comprise an excellent compendium of Biblical information.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE APOSTLES AS EVERYDAY MEN. By President ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON, S.T.D. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Company. Cloth, pp. 79.

Those who have had the privilege of hearing Doctor Thompson preach on the subject of the Twelve Apostles will be particularly pleased to find his message produced in this more permanent form. The particular point emphasized by the writer is the arrangement of

the Twelve in six strongly contrasted pairs, so that each apostle finds in his comrade the man who most differed from himself, and therefore could best supply his defects; the impulsive Peter, and the cautious Andrew; James the elder, and the youthful John; Thomas the doubter, and Matthew the man of fearless faith. We notice that Dr. Thompson adopts the theory which identifies "James the son of Alphaeus" with James the brother of our Lord; and Thaddeus with Jude, "the brother of James" and of our Lord. The book closes with a brief review of the traditions relative to the histories of the Twelve Disciples, subsequent to the times described in the New Testament narrative.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

PREPARATION FOR TEACHING. A Standard Course for Teacher Training.

By CHARLES A. OLIVER. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Paper, 16mo, pp. 132. Price 10 cents.

HELPS FOR LEADERS OF TEACHER TRAINING CLASSES. By CHARLES A. OLIVER. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Paper, 16mo, pp. 63. Price 10 cents.

SUPPLEMENTAL LESSONS FOR THE PRIMARY GRADES OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL. Prepared by M. FLORENCE BROWN. Edited by J. R. MILLER, D.D. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, Paper, pp. 60. Price, 25 cents.

SUPPLEMENTAL LESSONS FOR THE JUNIOR DEPARTMENT OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL. Prepared by FREDERICK G. TAYLOR; Edited by J. R. MILLER, D.D. Paper, pp. 48. Price, 25 cents.

These pamphlets, the contents of which are sufficiently indicated by their titles, are helpful contributions to the newer literature offered to all who are interested in the important work of the Sabbath School.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR BOYS. By WILLIS L. GELSTON, Superintendent of Young Peoples' Work in the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Paper, 16mo; pp. 54. Price, 10 cents.

This pamphlet offers a suggestive description of the Boys' Brigade, Baraca Classes, Knights of King Arthur, and similar boys' clubs and associations.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

ACTS. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D. THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. By EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, Assistant Professor of Biblical and Patristic Greek in the University of Chicago. THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS AND TO THE EPHESIANS. By the Reverend GROSS ALEXANDER, S.T.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Cloth, 16mo; pp. 267, 132, 129. Price, 50 cents each.

These three volumes form a part of the series entitled "The Bible for Home and School," published under the general editorship of Professor Shailer Matthews.

The designed characteristics of this series of commentaries are, (a) the exclusion of all critical and exegetical processes; (b) the pre-supposition and use of the assured (?) results of historical criticism; (c) a running analysis of the text; (d) brief explanatory notes and introductions; (e) use of the Revised Version. The commentaries are designed for the use of ministers, Sunday School teachers and lay readers.

Of these three volumes the least satisfactory is the first. It is disappointing particularly in the lack of reliance placed upon the accuracy of Luke's narrative. One might say of this commentary by Dr. Gilbert what Dr. Gilbert says of the Acts, viz.: "it has not uniform historical value." The narrative of the gift of tongues at Pentecost is said to illustrate the tendency to idealize and to invest intelligible events with a supernatural halo. As to the reality of the ascension of Christ, "the interpreter cannot speak with assurance." No real angel, it is asserted, delivered the apostles from prison; the words of the angel were "a message of the apostles own hearts." The voice which came to Paul at the time of his conversion "is most naturally associated with his conscience." "The detail" that it was "in the Hebrew language" is in harmony with the fact that one's deepest thoughts utter themselves in one's mother tongue." That Paul inflicted blindness upon Elymas is improbable; the story has undergone "modification in transition." The sudden death of Ananias was "according to natural causes." Eutychus was not "taken up dead", although Luke so states; the "words indicate apparent death." "Points of disagreement between the Acts and the Epistles are not altogether wanting."

In the commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, the difficult question of the *authorship* is carefully discussed, and the conclusion reached that more can be said for Barnabas than for any other claimant. The position is taken that the Epistle was written for Gentile readers, probably for the church at Rome. As to the place of writing, Alexandria is suggested. The date is late in the reign of Domitian (81-96).

The Commentary by Dr. Alexander is well outlined, and shows in its discussions a clear insight into these profound Epistles to the Colossians and the Ephesians.

In spite of their brevity all these volumes contain much that is helpful to the better understanding of the various parts of the Bible. It will seem to some readers, however, that as "processes are excluded" it might have been better to omit certain disputed "critical conclusions".

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

BE THOU MY GUIDE. By the Rev. F. W. HERZBERGER. St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House. Cloth, pp. 86. Price, 20 cents.

This little book is designed to counsel and encourage those who have recently entered into communicant membership with the Lutheran Church.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

WOMAN IN CHURCH AND STATE. By STANTON COIT, Ph.D. West London Ethical Society. Paper, pp. 70.

The contention of the writer is that women desiring political enfranchisement would attain their end more speedily by abandoning the direct demand for the privilege of voting and by focusing public opinion upon other sex disabilities. There are many who will be slow to admit what the writer insists as to granting women the right to the position of preachers and of membership in national legislative assemblies; but there is much of force in his insistence upon equality of rights in matters of education, in divorce courts, and in a legal share in the wages of husbands.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE PRESBYTERIAN HANDBOOK. By the Rev. WM. H. ROBERTS, D.D. Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work, Philadelphia. 86 pages. Price five cents.

No Presbyterian should be without this little manual which contains essential facts relating to the history, statistics and work of our church together with the International Sunday School Lessons, Daily Bible Readings, and weekly Prayer Meeting Topics.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

ST. PAUL'S ILLUSTRATIONS. By the Rev. ROBERT R. RESKER. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Paper, pp. 103. Price, 20 cents net.

This is a worthy addition to the series of Bible Class Primers edited by Principal Salmond, D.D., Aberdeen.

In it the illustrations used by Saint Paul are classified and explained. The treatment indicates the breadth of sympathy and the vivid imagination of the apostle, as well as the necessity of reading his words in the light which archaeology and history throw upon his terms of expression. The classification of his illustrations is as follows: *I.* From Nature. *II.* From Agricultural and Pastoral Life. *III.* From Architecture and Building. *IV.* From Military Work. *V.* From Greek Games. *VI.* From Slavery. *VII.* From Domestic Life. *VIII.* From Civic and Business Life. *IX.* From Jewish and Roman Law. *X.* From Classical Literature. *XI.* From Scripture. *XII.* Miscellaneous Illustrations.

No one could read this book without coming to a more perfect understanding of the writings of Paul, "the Master of Metaphor."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

CATECHETICAL BIBLE LESSONS. By NAHUM WESLEY GROVER. Philadelphia: The Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work. Paper, pp. 62. Price, 10 cents.

This catechism is designed for children from eight to ten years of age. The answers are chiefly Scripture quotations, brief and easily

memorized. Most of the important doctrines of the Bible are briefly set forth, and instruction given relative to the Church and its ordinances. The book is arranged for a nine months' course, of one lesson a week. It will be found helpful for instruction in the home and in the Pastor's class.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

IN THE SCHOOL OF CHRIST. By Bishop WILLIAM FRAZER McDOWELL. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 303. Price, \$1.25 net.

This volume comprises the Cole Lectures for 1910 delivered before Vanderbilt University. The object of the generous founder of this lectureship was to secure, in connection with the Biblical Department of the University, "a perpetual lectureship, to be restricted in its scope to a defense and advocacy of the Christian religion." The present course achieves this purpose by an endeavor to set forth the teachings by which Christ prepared the apostles for their mission. It is necessarily therefore a brief review of fundamental Christian doctrines. It is intended primarily as a message to theological students and ministers, but has been published with the hope that it may be helpful and stimulating not only to these classes of Christians, but to many others who are quite as truly "in the school of Christ". The whole content of the book is suggested with unusual definiteness by the following summary of its chapters: Chosen by the Master: *I. To Hear What he Says; II. To See What He Does; III. To Learn What He Is*; Sent Forth by the Master: *IV. With a Message; V. With a Program; VI. With a Personality*. The style of the lectures is peculiarly clear and forcible, and the treatment of the themes indicates the highest conception of the difficulty and dignity of the work of the Christian ministry.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

CHRISTIAN EPOCH-MAKERS. By HENRY C. VEDDER, D.D., Professor of Church History in Crozer Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 368. Price, \$1.20 net, postpaid.

Doctor Vedder has afforded to his readers not only an historical review of missions, but a missionary view of history. He has given a fascinating summary of the great missionary movements, and has also suggested the important place which these movements hold in the great epochs of the Christian ages. What makes the treatment of these movements of particular interest is the biographical method which he has followed. In describing each of the great missionary epochs he has grouped its salient facts about the personality of some notable leader.

To some extent the method suggests the view of Carlyle that the history of mankind is the history of its great men; so the author contends that the significance and value of each great missionary era, and

of its relation to the entire course of Christian missions, can be adequately conveyed by reviewing the career of the individual missionary who embodies the spirit and indicates the character of the movement in which he plays a conspicuous part. After the introductory chapter on the Philosophy of Missions, in which it is shown that in its very essence Christianity is a missionary religion, the author gives the following biographical sketches: Paul, and Missions of the Apostolic Age; Ulfilas, and the conversion of the Barbarians; Patrick, the apostle to Ireland; Augustine and Christianity in Angle-Land; Boniface, and the Evangelization of Germany; Ansgar, and the Gospel in Scandinavia; Vladimir, and the Conversions of the Slavs; Raimond Lull, the Dark Age of Missions; Francis of Assisi, the Missions of the Grey Friars; Xavier, the Missions of the Jesuits; the First Protestant Missionary; Schwartz, the Educational Idea in Missions; Zinzendorf, the Moravian Pioneers in Modern Missions; Carey, and the Missionary Revival in England; Martyn, the First Missionary to the Mohammedans; Judson, and the Beginning of Missions in America; Livingstone, the Light-Bearer to the Dark Continent.

The volume forms an excellent vindication of the author's method, and commends it to all who are desirous of awakening an interest in Christian Missions and of imparting missionary information. While the book may be of special value to leaders of mission study classes, it cannot fail to absorb the attention of every reader. Above all else it embodies a direct appeal to every Christian to enlist in more definite service for the evangelization of the world, and furnishes the inspiration of the example of the marvelous results which God has produced by the lives of a few chosen messengers who were wholly surrendered to his will.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE LIVING CHURCH ANNUAL AND WHITTAKER'S CHURCHMAN'S ALMANAC. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company. Paper; pp. 480. Price, 50 cents.

This "cyclopaedia and almanac" contains an extensive account of the organization, statistics, and activities of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

PLAIN ANSWERS TO RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS MODERN MEN ARE ASKING.

By SAMUEL CHARLES BLACK, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Boulder, Colorado. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 202. Price, 75 cents; postage, 8 cents.

From the questions here collated by an active and successful pastor, who has had wide experience in dealing with men, it might be concluded that modern men are asking questions which are neither novel, nor specially concerned with theological subtleties. "Is there a God?" "Is the Bible the Word of God?" "Must one believe in Christ to be saved?" "What are the proofs for the Resurrection?" "What is the

unpardonable sin?" "Is it necessary to unite with the Church?" "What is known of the future life?" These are in substance the problems proposed. In his answers the author lays great stress upon the need of "regeneration" and makes large use of the words of Christ to Nicodemus, and of other appropriate quotations from the New Testament. Most of these answers were prepared to meet actual cases of doubt or inquiry.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

MY RELIGION IN EVERYDAY LIFE. By JOSIAH STRONG, D.D. New York: The Baker and Taylor Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 61. Price, 50 cents net.

This brief bit of biography is a narration of the experience of the writer in changing from an "individualistic" to a "social" view of Christianity. We cannot but feel that the distinguished author has done himself an unconscious injustice in attempting to describe the absurdly narrow and selfish conceptions by which he believes he was dominated during the first twenty-five years of his Christian life. Of course his "social view" is better; excepting in so far as it seems to imply that social reforms are of more importance than spiritual renewals. Probably the writer would agree with most of his fellow Christians that "society will be redeemed," and the "kingdom of God" most surely hastened by such a true regeneration of individuals as results in their obedience to the "laws of Love, of Service and of Sacrifice." There evidently is something of reality in each of the suggested "views", and one is not to be discarded for the other. The most helpful feature in this personal message is the testimony of the author to the practical power which his Christian faith gives him to meet the trials, and temptations, and duties of everyday life.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE BIBLE. By ALBERT S. COOK, Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 80. Price, \$1.00 net.

This admirable essay states the grounds upon which it is claimed that the Authorized Version of the Bible is "the first English Classic"; it further traces briefly the successive stages by which the English Bible grew into being and finally it indicates the influence of the Authorized Version upon English literature.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

OVER AGAINST THE TREASURY. By the Reverend COURTNEY H. FENN D.D., Missionary of the Presbyterian Board at Peking, China. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Board; 8vo, pp. 100. Price, 60 cents; postage, 5 cents.

The incidents described in this little book are imaginary, but the realities suggested are of vital and personal and tremendous importance.

The experience is that of a pastor, who, at the time he is considering his own relation and the relation of his people to the work of world-wide evangelization, has a vision of the actual presence of Christ. The result upon the pastor, and of the narration of the vision upon the people, is a real dedication of lives and possessions to the service of the Master with a special view of helping to meet the spiritual needs of the unevangelized world. The plan of the narrative enables the writer to deal with the motives, and problems and criticisms of the missionary enterprise. The reader cannot fail to covet for himself and for the Church such a vision of the present Christ as will produce a passion for the evangelization of the world.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE ANALYZED BIBLE. THE PROPHECY OF ISAIAH. By the Reverend G. CAMPBELL MORGAN, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo. Vol. I, pp. 222. Vol. II, pp. 230. Price, \$1.00 per volume.

This extended series of studies began with three "introductory volumes", which gave a broad, "telescopic", view of the entire Bible. Five volumes have followed, two of which are devoted to the analysis of the prophecy of Isaiah. These are occupied with much fuller analyses than those furnished in the introductory volumes. However, the outlines are still broad. The minute or "microscopic" method is never reached. The design is rather to prepare the reader for the many commentaries in which the latter method is employed. No one can follow these outlines without gaining a clearer knowledge of the messages of the prophet, and a deeper impression of the literary unity of his work.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW. By the Reverend EDWARD E. ANDERSON, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 243. Price, 75 cents net.

This brief commentary is one of the series of "Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students", edited by the Reverend Alexander Whyte, D.D., and the Reverend John Kelman, D.D. The writer of this volume accepts the "prevailing theory" that the First Gospel was not written by Matthew but by an unknown author who drew his material largely from the Gospel of Mark and who incorporated certain sayings of our Lord, written by Matthew in Hebrew and constituting "the source commonly called Q." The commentary on the text is generally conservative; but a certain distrust of the narrative is occasionally manifest, as, for example, it is stated that the guidance of the star to the house in Bethlehem "looks like a fanciful imagination due to the magi or the story-teller;" as to the temptation of Christ, "the story is of the nature of a parabolic representation of an inward spiritual conflict;" and again, "the stories of the guard at the tomb, and of the resurrection of dead saints, do not stand on the same historical level as the main narrative, but have crept in from that wonderland in which history is buried in

fanciful legend." The comments are brief and suggestive. In addition to the "Introduction" and "Notes", there is an appendix containing discussion upon "The Pharisees and Sadducees," "The Kingdom of God," "The Son of Man," "The Son of God."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE DECISIVE HOUR OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS. By JOHN R. MOTT, LL. D. New York City, Educational Department of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 12mo., cloth, pp. 267.

This burning message breathes the spirit and embodies the appeal of the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh last June. It was written before the publication of the valuable reports of the Conference, and of the admirable review of the Conference by Mr. Gairdner. However, as Chairman of the Conference, and also of Commission I., on "Carrying the Gospel to all the non-Christian World," the author speaks with the conviction and the authority of one who has a personal and direct knowledge of the stupendous movements and issues with which this volume is concerned. Its main contention is this: "In the history of Christianity there never has been such a remarkable conjunction of opportunities and crises on all the principle mission fields and of favoring circumstances and possibilities on the home field."

The opportunities abroad include the plastic condition of the non-Christian nations, shown in advanced political, moral, intellectual and social movements, in the growing spirit of nationalism, in the evident need of a Christian basis for the new life and altered civilization. Forces are at work, however, which present special difficulties to the spread of Christianity; among these are noted, the corrupting vices of Western civilization, the increasing ravages of the liquor traffic, the unchristian acts of nominally Christian nations, the spread of infidel literature, modern secular education, and the renewed activity of non-Christian religions.

In spite of these adverse influences, however, there is observable in many parts of Asia and Africa a rising spiritual tide marking a great advance and suggesting an unprecedented opportunity for Christian missions. These conditions constitute an appeal to carry the Gospel to all the non-Christian world in this generation.

The undertaking demands a plan of adequate scope to include all unoccupied fields and all classes; a plan also adequately thorough, adequate in strategy in the massing and distribution of forces, and above all marked by a spirit of Christian unity.

The situation further demands "an adequate home base,"—a church guided by strong leaders, providing an increased number of missionary candidates, making a large advance in financial support, given more definitely to intercessory prayer. The situation also demands an efficient church on the mission field, conscious of its evangelizing obligation and responsibility.

These demands throw the church back upon the unlimited, and un-

appropriated power of God; and suggests the need of depending upon His guidance and the work of His spirit. In view of the present accessibility of the non-Christian peoples, in view of the abundant resources of the church, in view of the long period of preparatory sacrifice, service and prayer, in view of the peril of delay, the church is called upon to make a worthy and triumphant advance. "Let each Christian so resolve and so act that if a sufficient number of others will do likewise, all men before this generation passes away may have an adequate opportunity to know of Christ."

Princeton, N. J.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

EARLY MORNING SCENES IN THE BIBLE. By L. L. NASH, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 209. Price, \$1.00 net.

The author evinces a confidence in the historical accuracy and truth of the Bible narratives, which is quite refreshing. While his treatment of the various passages contains little that is new or striking, the simple presentation of familiar facts and truths suggests how helpful and how fascinating the Word of God becomes when its incidents are accepted in faith and reviewed with vividness. The originality of the book appears in its grouping of so many "early morning scenes", with the suggested contrasts and wide ranges of spiritual teaching.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

WIRELESS MESSAGES. POSSIBILITIES THROUGH PRAYER. By C. N. BROADHURST. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 230. Price, \$1.00 net.

Here is a collection of scores of incidents, arguments and analogies in the sphere of prayer, its reality, its power and its definite answers. It will be found of value not merely in furnishing illustrations for discussions, addresses and sermons, but in stimulating faith in a living God who hears and answers prayer.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

AN ORIENTAL LAND OF THE FREE. By JOHN H. FREEMAN. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 200. Price, 50 cents; postage, 9 cents.

The writer of this instructive and interesting little volume is a missionary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions stationed at Chiengmai, Laos. As he states in the sub-title of the book, he has given a picture of "Life and Mission Work Among the Laos of Siam, Burma, China and Indo-China." This people, who call themselves Tai or "The Free", but are named "Laos" by the Siamese and French, are, as the author contends, less known to the world than any other people that compares with them in numbers and character. In reference to this people, the writer has given illuminating answers to such questions as the following: Who are the Laos? Where do they live? What is their religion? How do they make a living? What

of their language, homes and schools? What special helps and hindrances does the missionary find in presenting the Gospel to the Laos people? How and when was missionary work among the Laos begun? By what methods and with what success has it been prosecuted? What are the present opportunities, outlook, need? The reading of this book is certain to be of profit to all, but it lays a special burden of responsibility upon the members of the Presbyterian Church, to which the evangelization of this people has been entrusted. The editor, Dr. T. H. P. Sailer, has placed in the appendix of the book a list of questions upon the different chapters which will make the volume of special service to mission-study classes.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

EXPOSITIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By the Reverend ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D., D.Litt. New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son. FIFTH SERIES. 1. First and Second Corinthians; 2. Ephesians; 3. Galatians and Philippians; 4. Philippians, Colossians, Timothy; 5. Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews; 6. Hebrews, James. 7. First and Second Peter, and First John; 8. Second and Third John, Jude, Revelation. Cloth; 8vo. Sold only as a complete series. Price, \$10.00.

These eight volumes complete the popular and now famous work of the prince of modern expository preachers. The thirty-two volumes, of the five series, form an incomparably fitting monument to their distinguished author. His career ended before the publication of the work was completed, but that he should have been permitted to live to finish the preparation of these volumes is a cause of gratitude for the Christian world. The vast material compiled suggests the tireless industry for which the author was well known; the careful composition and exquisite literary finish of the production mark the patient and thoughtful student; the confidence in the authority of Scripture, the rigid adherence to its inspired messages, the passionate devotion to evangelical truth, indicate the sources of power which made the famous pulpit orator.

These "Expositions" are in reality the published sermons of Doctor Maclaren; one should not therefore expect to find either comprehensive views of entire books of Scripture, nor extended exegesis of continuous passages. The texts were selected by a busy pastor seeking the messages most helpful to his flock. Yet the wonder and the encouragement, are in the fact that the sermons of a single preacher, so produced and now collected, form practically a commentary on the whole Bible. Such an example of expository preaching should be an inspiration to the coming generation of ministers. Then, too, in their chaste English, in their comprehensive and suggestive introductions, in their careful outlines, in their lucidity, in their concise and appropriate illustrations and in their practical applications of inspired truth, these sermons are models worthy of careful imitation.

Owing to the source of the materials, the volumes of the extended

series are not all of equal merit; those which treat the Gospels and the Acts will probably be adjudged the most helpful. The range of ideas, and the aspects of truth, are somewhat limited; there is no very striking originality of thought or treatment: yet read where we may, in any sermon, in any volume, we are always brought face to face with Christ, with our need of faith in Him, with His divine person, His atoning work, His indwelling presence, His unfailing power, His coming glory. This great work is commended not only to preachers and teachers, but to all who love the Scriptures and who seek to know more perfectly the truth which issues in life.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE EVANGELICAL INVASION OF BRAZIL. By SAMUEL R. GAMMON, D.D. Richmond, Va.; Presbyterian Committee of Publication. Cloth; 12mo, illustrated; pp. 190. Price, postpaid, 75 cents.

By no means the least informing portion of this work is found in the first three chapters which describe the land, the people and the history of Brazil. Then follow two chapters which contain a calm and dispassionate statement of the doctrines, practices and influence of Roman Catholicism as set forth by Roman Catholic writers and as known to the author after twenty years of residence and observation in Brazil. These chapters are commended to all who raise the familiar question relative to the propriety and need of evangelical missions in papal lands. The sixth and seventh chapters contain a brief but comprehensive sketch of the half century of missionary enterprise just completed. The author reviews the successful work, not only of the Presbyterian Church, but of the other societies which are laboring in this portion of "the neglected continent". The concluding chapter voices the appeal of Papal Brazil to Protestant America, in view of commercial and geographical and political relationships, in view of the coming conflict on the western continents between Papal and Protestant Christianity, and in view of the past and present success of the work of Protestant missions.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE PILGRIM CHURCH AND OTHER SERMONS. By Rev. PERCY C. AINSWORTH. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 252. Price, \$1.25 net.

These inspiring sermons form a worthy and fitting memorial of a brief and helpful life. As one reads them he is continually conscious of a deep regret that the service and ministry they suggest could not have been long continued to guide and illumine and instruct. The author, a Wesleyan minister of England, whose lamented death occurred last July, only nine years after his ordination, was but little known this side of the Atlantic; but these messages, so prophetic in their conception, so artistic in their composition, so striking in their expression, so evangelical in their spirit, will give to their writer a lasting name, and an abiding influence. It may not be too much to

say, with Sir W. Robertson Nicoll, that "this book must inevitably find its way into the hands of every preacher worthy of the name. It is truly a golden book."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE SOCIALIZED CHURCH. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cloth; 16mo, pp. 288. Price, \$1.00 net.

This volume comprises the addresses delivered before the "First National Conference of the Social Workers of Methodism", at St. Louis, Mo. It contains informing discussions of various forms of social and institutional work, and of the more pressing social problems in their relation to the organized activities of the Christian Church. Among the topics treated are The Church and Organized Charity, The Church and the Social Need, The Church and the Workingman, The Work of the Deaconess, The Social Settlement.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE HOME OF THE SOUL. By Rev. CHARLES WAGNER, author of "The Simple Life". Cloth; 12mo, pp. 369. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, publishers.

This volume of sermons derives its name from the place in which the sermons were delivered—"Le Foyer de l'Ame", or "The Home of the Soul", the new institutional church near the Place De La Bastille, France. The author of "The Simple Life" here sets forth those elementary religious conceptions which make his preaching equally acceptable to "Roman Catholics, Jews, and Free-thinkers." The pervading spirit is of a broad liberalism, and the expressed desire is "to love others, to grow in gentleness and strength," to manifest "brotherhood, kindness, and faith."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

A STUDY OF THE LORD'S PRAYER. By WILLIAM R. RICHARDS, D.D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Education. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 148. Price, 75 cents; postage, 6 cents extra.

This little book from the pen of the late, lamented, pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City, is designed to call attention to certain features of our Lord's teaching concerning prayer as exhibited in the prayer which bears His name. The brief chapters breathe the same spirit of simplicity, of sincerity of spiritual insight, which gave to the life of the author its peculiar influence and power. The volume is a distinct aid to prayer.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE HIGH CALLING. MEDITATIONS ON ST. PAUL'S LETTER TO THE PHI-
LIPPIANS. By J. H. JOWETT, M.A. New York: Fleming H. Revell
Company. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 252. Price, \$1.25 net.

One who would understand why Mr. Jowett is such a potent force

in the religious world of to-day needs only to read these illuminating and inspiring comments upon the words of St. Paul.

Such spiritual insight, such picturesque and vivid illustration, such immediate and practical application, cannot fail to arrest the attention, to convict, to encourage, to lead to new resolution and higher endeavor. The Epistle is shown to be, in its every phrase, replete with human interest and applicable to present spiritual needs.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

CHRISTIAN UNITY IN EFFORT. By FRANK J. FIRTH. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1910. Cloth; 12mo, pp. 273. Price, \$1.50.

The writer of this book is a business man who is seeking after truth and moved with an evident desire to secure a definite co-operation in service among the Christians of various denominations. He suggests the necessity of "faith in God and the Bible", discusses some of the more popular creeds, describes the leading churches of America, and pleads for a comprehensive federation to be known as "The American Christian Church".

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

COLLEGE SERMONS. By CHARLES CARROLL ALBERTSON, D.D. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 12mo, pp. 194. Price, 75 cents net.

These sermons, by the pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, Rochester, suggest a poetic temperament, and a discriminating literary taste. They are inspired by a vital Christian faith, and present religious truths in an attractive and engaging form.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

EFFECTIVE SPEAKING. ARTHUR EDWARD PHILLIPS. Chicago: The New-ton Company. \$1.50. 314 pages.

This book has been published two years, is now used as a text-book in very many of our leading universities, and is generally considered by the teachers of public speaking to be the most helpful work on that subject yet published. It is a definite, clear and convincing presentation of the essential principles of effectiveness in all forms of speaking. It does not deal with the delivery of the speech, but with the choice and arrangement of the material as determined by the specific purpose of the speaker. While dealing with principles, it is eminently practical, and will prove very helpful to any student of oratory.

Princeton.

HENRY W. SMITH.

MIND AND VOICE. S. S. CURRY, Ph.D., Litt.D. Boston: Expression Company. 456 pages. \$1.50. 1910.

Dr Curry has written a series of original and stimulating books on

different phases of vocal expression, basing his methods on the principle that voice modulation is a revelation of the processes of the mind, and that to improve expression it is first necessary to deepen the impression, to make the thinking clearer, the imagination more vivid, and the emotions more lively. In this book he applies the same principle to vocal training. He considers the relations of mind, body and voice, the ways in which one influences the others, the normal conditions for tone production, and the many ways in which tone may be varied. No book on vocal training can take the place of a competent living teacher, but the methods and principles here taught are correct, and will be very helpful to any careful student, and especially so to those who are already familiar with the customary methods of teaching vocal training.

Princeton.

HENRY W. SMITH.

THE SPEECH FOR SPECIAL OCCASIONS. ELLA A. KNAPP, Ph. D., and JOHN C. FRENCH, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1911. 395 pages.

This book is designed to help those persons, who, though not professional speakers, are, by reason of position or general ability, called upon to make an address on some special occasion. Many professional speakers, also, might profit by the suggestions in the excellent introduction. The addresses here collected are excellent of their kind, and furnish models for nearly all the occasions that are apt to occur in common life, and they have the further merit of being unhackneyed. Though delivered in modern times, by well-known men, and on occasions of general interest, few of them would ever be seen by the general reader.

Princeton.

HENRY W. SMITH.

THE NEW YEAR PEACE SOCIETY YEAR BOOK. Organized 1906. 8 vo, pp. 63. 1910.

We would call the attention of the readers of this admirable Year Book to, the large amount of literature put out by the Society for propaganda purposes; the marked increase in membership during the past year; the number of meetings held, and the list of well-known speakers; the proposition to invite a delegation of from twenty-five to fifty young Turkish statesmen and leaders "to see our schools and colleges, industries and mines, and our civic life;" the significant and authoritative address by Senator Burton at the Plaza on January 15; the incorporation of the Society, and the list of incorporators; and the passage by Congress of a resolution authorizing the appointment of a commission in relation to universal peace. May the influences of this society continually widen and deepen!

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

American Journal of Theology, Chicago, January: ARTHUR CUSHMAN MCGIFFERT, Theological Education; SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE, Historicity of Jesus. An Estimate of the Negative Argument; ERRETT GATES, Pragmatic Elements in Modernism; SHAILER MATHEWS, Evolution of Religion; BENJAMIN WISNER BACON, Matthew and the Virgin Birth; FRANK HUGH FOSTER, Theological Obscurantism; Recent Theological Literature.

Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, January: HAROLD M. WIENER, Some Aspects of the Conservative Task in Pentateuchal Criticism; A. A. BERLE, The Theologian of the Future; K. DUNKMANN, The "Christ-Myth"; WILLIS J. BEECHER, Making Religion Popular; ALBERT H. CURRIER, Crime in the United States: Reforms Demanded; WILLIAM W. EVERTS, Aramaic Papyri Found at Elephantine; JOHN BASCOM, Basis of Theism.

Church Quarterly Review, London, January: Mr. Gladstone's Letters on Church and Religion; ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, Odes of Solomon; Democracy in English Fiction; CLEMENT J. C. WEBB, The "Policraticus" of John Salisbury; KIRSOPP LAKE, Judaistic Controversy, and the Apostolic Council; Lombardic Architecture; T. HANNAN, Scottish Consecrations in London in 1610; LADY LAURA RIDDING, Certain Aspects of Divorce.

East and West, London, January: DR. WHITEHEAD, New Movement in India and the Old Gospel; JULIUS A. BREWIN, Oriental Students in England; M. P. WESTERN, Female Education in North India; H. NEWTON, Marriage and Divorce in Papua; C. F. ANDREWS, Indian Missionary Deal; J. A. SHARROCK, Our Right to India; Are Missions to the Jews Justifiable?; W. BRERETON, A Medical Missionary in China, 1644-1715; C. H. EDMUNDS, Thoughts on Transmigration; S. CLARK, Eurasians as Missionaries in India.

The Expositor, London, March: B. W. BACON, The Odes of the Lord's Rest; JOHANN LEPSIUS, Symbolic Language of the Revelation, translated by Helena Ramsay with notes by Sir W. M. Ramsay; C. T. DIMONT, Synoptic Evangelists and the Pharisees; NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, Assumptions underlying Gospel Criticism; RAYNOR WINTERBOTHAM, The Story of the Lost and Found; W. M. RAMSAY, Historical Commentary on the Epistles to Timothy; E. C. SELWYN, Philip and the Eunuch.

Expository Times, Edinburgh, March: Notes of Recent Exposition; ALEXANDER STEWART, The Elder Brother; JAMES IVERACH, 'Light from the Ancient East'; G. MARGOLIOUTH, The Traditions of the Elders; W. W. HOLDSWORTH, The Life of Faith.

Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, January: WILLIAM ADAMS, BROWN, The Old Theology and the New; KIRSOPP LAKE, Shepherd of Hermas and Christian Life in Rome in the Second Century; GAYLORD S. WHITE, Social Settlement after Twenty-five Years; ANDREW C. ARMSTRONG, Is Faith a Form of Feeling?; GEORGE R. DODSON, The Synoptic

Mind; IRVING KING, Some Problems in Science of Religion; GEORGE A. BARROW, Moral Argument of Theism; DAVID G. LYON, Hebrew Ostraca from Samaria.

Hibbert Journal, Boston and London, January: BISHOP OF OSSORY, Theology and the Subconscious; H. C. GODDARD, Language and the New Philosophy; G. LOWES DICKINSON, Ideals and Facts; G. W. MULLINS, Woman Suffrage: A New Synthesis; BISHOP OF TASMANIA, Theology of Laughter; GIOVANNI LUZZI, Roman Catholic Church in Italy at the Present Hour; A. O. LOVEJOY, Christian Ethics and Economic Competition; WILLIAM DANKS, The Clergy, Conscience, and Free Inquiry; K. C. ANDERSON, Whitherward?—A question for the Higher Criticism; J. M. LLOYD THOMAS, What is Schism?; CHARLES STEWART, Prayer; DONALD MACMILLAN, Ecclesiastical Situation in Scotland.

International Journal of Ethics, Philadelphia, January: ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY, William James as a Philosopher; B. BOSANQUET, Place of Leisure in Life; THOMAS JONES, Charity Organization; F. MELIAN STAWELL, Goethe's Influence on Carlyle. I; J. W. SCOTT, Idealism and the Conception of Forgiveness; W. F. COOLEY, Confessions of an Indeterminist.

Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin and New York, January: T. SLATER, Modern Sociology; J. MACCAFFREY, The Revolution in Portugal; D. BARRY, Budgets—Parliamentary or Local—and Conscience; M. J. O'DONNELL, Historical Basis of Jansenist Error; PETER DAHMEN, Doctrine of Incarnation in Hinduism; J. MACRORY, Teaching of New Testament on Divorce. II.

Journal of Theological Studies, London, January: G. MORIN, L'Origine du Symbole D'Athanase; H. ST. J. THACKERAY, Primitive Lectionary Notes in the Psalm of Habakkuk; MARTINE RULE, So-called Missale Francorum; W. D. SARGEANT, the Lambeth Articles; E. C. BUTLER, Rule of St. Benedict; R. H. CONNOLLY, Side-light on the Methods of Tatian; C. H. TURNER, Curiosities of Latin Interpretation of the Greek Testament; C. H. TURNER, Osius of Cordova; E. S. BUCHANAN, Further Notes on the Fleury Palimpsest(h); H. M. BANNISTER, Irish Psalters; G. BUCHANAN GRAY, The Greek Version of Isaiah: is it the work of a single Translator?

London Quarterly Review, London, January: J. ARTHUR THOMSON, The Dryad in the Tree; JAMES LEWIS, Scientific Theory of Missions; W. H. S. AUBREY, The Poor Law in Actual Working; URQUHART A. FORBES, Indian Unrest; C. DELISLE BURNS, Pax Romana; HERBERT L. BISHOP, Bantu Religion; EDWARD J. BRAILSFORD, Education of the Spiritual Sense.

Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, January: EDWIN HEYLE DELK, The Church and the Toiler; ARTHUR H. SMITH, Antithesis of Romanism and Lutheranism; ADAM STUMP, Dr. Eliot's "Religion of the Future"; FRED C. GEESEY, Present State of Departed Souls; V. G. A. TRESSLER, Glimpses of Early Lutheran Theology; J. C. JACOBY, Lutheran Doctrine of the Holy Sacraments; E. E. ORTLEPP, Lutheran Usage of

Lent; J. L. NEVE, Formulation of the General Synod's Confessional Basis.

Methodist Review, New York and Cincinnati, March-April: CHARLES J. LITTLE, Charles Henry Fowler; EARL CRANSTON, Plea for One Methodism; C. T. WINCHESTER, John Wesley in the New Edition of the Journal; W. A. QUAYLE, Tennyson's Men, II; F. C. LOCKWOOD, Gilbert K. Chesterton as Artist and Thinker; I. F. RUSSELL, Israel's Legacy to Our Age; W. F. MALLALIEU, Christianizing Christendom; R. J. WYCKOFF, Job and the Man of the Sermon on the Mount; FRED LEITCH, Religion of Science.

Methodist Review Quarterly, Nashville, January: O. E. BROWN, Tolstoi's Message for his Times; JOHN C. GRANBERY, Ritschl and Ritschlianism; WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, Changes in Theological Thought During the last Generation; JOHN MADISON FLETCHER, Failure of Rationalism; GEORGE B. FOSTER, Concerning Authority; JAMES L. WATTS, World-Federation for the Enforcement of Universal Peace; J. A. FAULKNER, The Change from Early Christianity to Ecclesiasticism; R. H. MAHON and F. M. THOMAS, Devil Possession in the New Testament.

Modern Puritan, London, January: E. K. SIMPSON, Sir John Eliot and His Times; ADOLPHE MONOD, Man Proposes, but God Disposes. I; A. H. DRYSDALE, Puritanism and Preaching; JAMES A. RAMSAY, Parables of Stewardship; D. M. MCINTYRE, The Christian Preacher. I.

Monist, Chicago, January: WILLIAM MACKINTIRE SALTER, Schopenhauer's Type of Idealism; PAUL CARUS, Professor Mach and His Work; BERNHARD PICK, Early Attacks on Christianity and Its Defenders; JOHN E. BOODIN, From Protagoras to William James; CHARLES ALVA LANE, Self and Personality; A. KAMPMEIER, Josephus and Tacitus on Christ.

Philosophical Review, Lancaster and New York, March: CHARLES M. BAKEWELL, Problem of Transcendence; EVANDER B. MCGILVARY, 'Fringe' of William James's Psychology the Basis of Logic; F. H. BRADLEY, Faith.

Reformed Church Review, Lancaster, January: R. C. SCHIEDT, Eugenics; PHILIP VOLLMER, Dialectical Method of Socrates; LESTER REDDIN, Anthropology of Jesus; SCOTT R. WAGNER, Preparation for the Christian Life; W. WILBERFORCE DEATRICK, Pedagogic Applications of the New Psychology; Deaconess and Trained Nurse; A. V. HIESTER, Contemporary Sociology; A. S. WEBER, Contemporary Religious and Theological Thought.

Review and Expositor, Louisville, January: WILLIAM L. POTEAT, Scientific Presumption against Prayer; E. Y. MULLINS, Modern Issue as to the Person of Christ; JAMES STUART, Dr. Alexander MacLaren; JANE MARSH PARKER, Father Miller and His Midnight Cry; CHARLES B. WILLIAMS, Jesus as a Teacher; J. L. GILMOUR, Eucharistic Congress; ERVIN F. LYON, Infant Baptism.

Theological Quarterly, St. Louis, January: Doctrine of Conversion according to Ephesians 1: 19-20 and 2: 1-10; The Rise of Antichrist.

Union Seminary Magazine, Richmond, February-March: DANIEL A. PENICK, Church's Opportunity among Students of State Institutions; J. M. HOLLADAY, One of Paul's Prayers; EDWARD E. LANE, Spirit of the Christian Soldier; THORNTON WHALING, Dr. Girardeau as a Theologian; A. N. PERRYMAN, Philosophy of Christ; S. A. MOFFETT, Place of the Native Church in the Work of Evangelization.

Revue Bénédictine, Paris, Janvier: D. G. MORIN, Un traité inédit attribué à Saint Augustin; D. A. WILMART, L'ancienne version latine du Cantique I-III, 4; D. U. BERLIÈRE, Lettres inédites de Bénédictins de St-Maur; P. CAPELLE, Fragments du psautier d'Aquila?; D. A. WILMART, Egeria; D. L. GOUGAUD and GAIDOZ, Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises; D. A. MANSER, Le témoignage d'Aldhelm de Sherbone sur une particularité du canon grégorien de la messe romaine; D. G. MORIN, La finale inédite de la lettre de Guitmond d'Aversa à Erfast, sur la Trinité.

Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Louvain, Janvier: C. CALLEWAERT, La méthode dans la recherche de la base juridique des premières persécutions (à suivre); L. BRIL, Les premiers temps du christianisme en Suède. Étude critique des sources littéraires hambourgeoises (à suivre); G. CONSTANT, La transformation du culte anglican sous Édouard VI. Tendances luthériennes (à suivre).

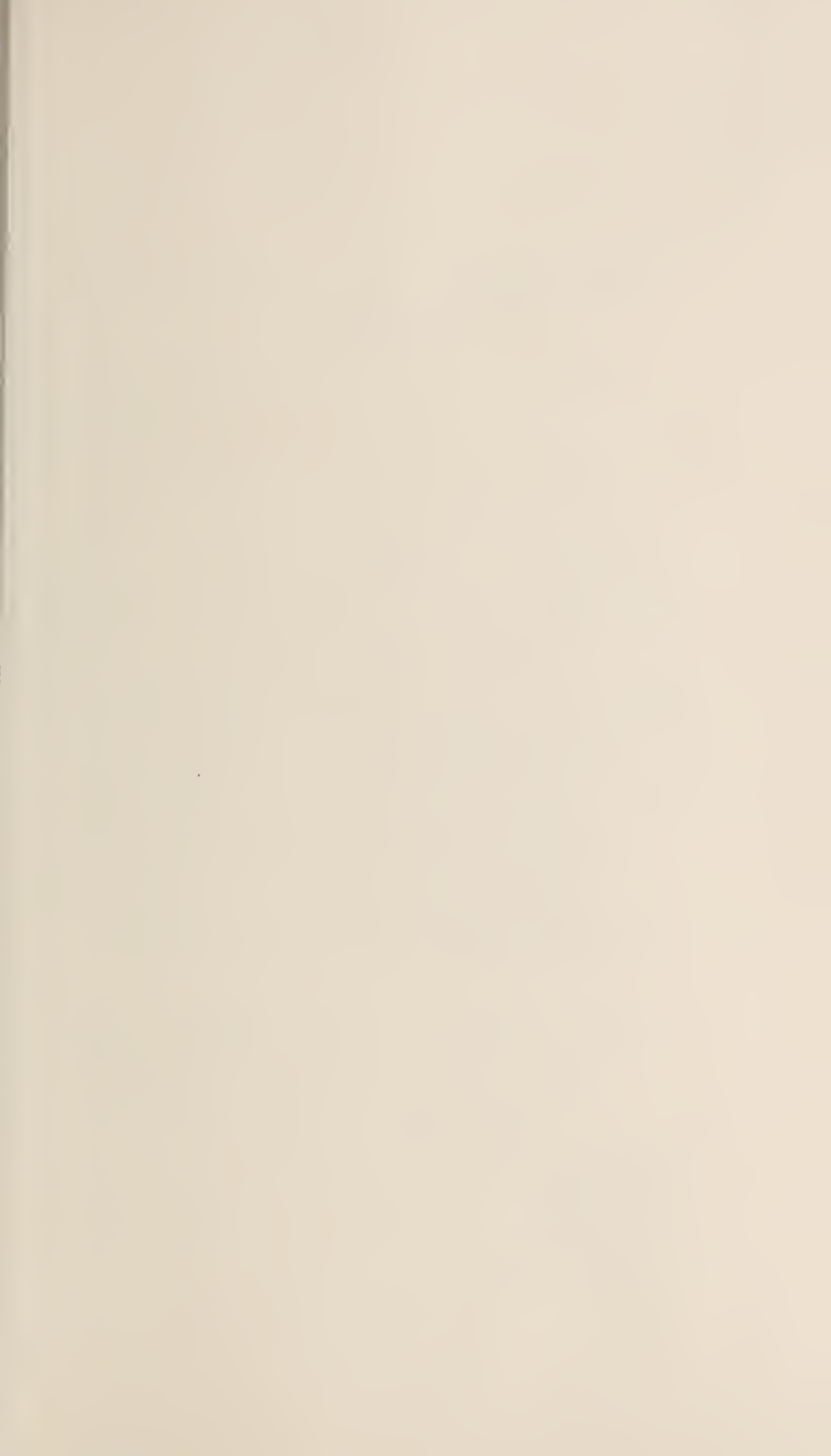
Revue de Théologie et des Questions Religieuses, Montauban, Décembre: L.-F. FAGES, Discours de; E. DOUMERGUE, La Faculté de Montauban en 1600, en 1810 et en 1910; ANDRÉ ARNAL, La Personne humaine dans les Evangiles.

Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, Lausanne, Septembre-Décembre: J. H. WIDMER, Le tempérament, son importance pour le pasteur; PAUL HUMBERT, Le Messie dans le Targums des prophètes; CHARLES WERNER, Qu'est-ce que la philosophie?; H. TRABAUD, L'Introduction à l'Ancien Testament dans sa phase actuelle; J. CARL, Un vieux livre de controverse; GOTTLIEB LINDNER, Béthesda.

Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, Kain (Belgique), Janvier: M. S. GILLET, Les Conditions d'Efficacité d'une Morale éducative; F. PALHORIÈS, Jacques Balmès et le Problème de la Certitude; G. SCHMIDT, Voies nouvelles en Science comparée des Religions et en Sociologie comparée; J. B. FREY, L'Angéologie juive au temps Jésus-Christ; E. B. ALLO, Un chiffre à noter dans l'Apocalypse.

Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, Innsbruck, XXXV Band, 1 Heft: E. MICHAEL, Über Glocken, namentlich deutsche, im Mittelalter; H. WIESMANN, Der zweite Teil des Buches der Weisheit; S. BERNHARD, War Judas der Verräter bei der Einsetzung der hl. Eucharistie gegenwärtig?; H. BRUDERS, Mt. 16: 19; 18: 18 und Jo. 20: 22-23 in frühchristlicher Auslegung. Afrika bis 251.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Leipzig, Band XXXIII, Heft 4; RICHARD HARTMAN, Die Palästina-Route des Itinerarium Burdigalense; HANS FISCHER, Begleitworte zur Karte des Syrisch-Ägyptischen Grenzgebiets; SAMUEL KLEIN, "Erez Israel" in weiteren Sinne; SAMUEL KRAUSS, "Erez Israel" im weiteren Sinne.



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